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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA; INTERNAL SECURITY - C

17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

REPORT OF SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

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NY 100-4931

Morning Session
December 12, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at
10:37 AM.

ARCHIE BROWN: The Presiding Committee proposes Comrade
CLARENCE HATHAWAY for Chairman of this
morning's session. This proposal adopted.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY: I will not deliver a speech so I will
go into the regular order of business.

JAMES JACKSON: We have a very extraordinary greeting to present
to our convention which both in size and content
indicates the large and high attention this great Party and
this great people display towards our deliberations. JACKSON
then read the following excerpts from the greetings of the
Communist Party of China.

-402-

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940136

NY 100-4931

The Communist Party of USA 17th National Convention.

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of all of its members and all the Chinese people, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China extends its warmest fraternal greetings to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party USA. The 17th National Convention is being held on the 40th anniversary of founding of the Communist Party USA. Throughout this (interim ?) forty years, the Communist Party, USA has proved itself to be (in ?) the glorious (post ?) of vanguard of America's working class, the most loyal and faithful representatives and the -- of the American people.

The struggles of your Party in (America ?) are by no means isolated ones. Your allies are everywhere. Your prospects are very bright indeed. The situation in the United States where (new born ?) forces are still - (in ?) an inferior position while the - forces have upper hand is definitely a temporary phenomenon which will certainly change towards opposite position in time. In time the American people, under the influence of the Marxist-Leninist education and Socialist movement, will increasingly realize that their basic interest lies in united struggle against monopoly groups, in defense of democracy and peace, and for social progress and friendly co-existence of all peoples.

The future belongs to the American people. May the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA achieve full success. May the Communist Party of the USA under the leadership of its National Committee in raising high the banner of Marxism and Leninism, achieve new successes in its efforts to strengthen unity of its (race ?) and also unity of the working class for peace, democracy, and Socialism for the American people.

It is signed "Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Peking, China."

NY 100-4931

Chairman HATHAWAY: Next is the organizational report by Comrade (PHIL) BART.

PHIL BART: Because of the time designated by the Presiding Committee, we have decided to forego the report on organization and deal specifically with the amendments and changes in the main resolution... that section... of the resolution dealing with Party organization. We realize ... convention preparations - not presenting a full discussion prior to this meeting. The resolution presented here for adoption is a product of a number of different resolutions -, the work of the convention committee... The resolution on Party organization ... supplements Section 6 of the Draft Resolution.

The committee discussed changes in light of the report by Comrade (GUS) HALL here. The amendment's main stress is on importance of developing the united front movement. In Section 6 of the resolution, paragraph 4, there is a new addition. It deals with the united front of Socialism... Further on in the resolution we have laid stress..... in Party organization and its relation to the mass work of our Party. It points out that the problem of Party organization is .. part of developing because organization.. is the instrument which can play a vanguard role in the class struggle. This is the reason -- stress.

The last paragraph .. resolution a question of criticism of the leadership in a constructive manner is a means to help improve the individual work of .. comrades and the work of the collective body of the Party. We call attention to the fact that, and I quote ".... question of leadership." This approach is in the light of mass work... Page 3 of this resolution is completely changed except for .. first and last paragraph. That deals with the struggle against opportunism .. and the Negro .. working class .. to influence our Party...

NY 100-4931

We had a very interesting experience just this morning wherein a letter (received) from Columbia College Political Assembly .. asked for a speaker.. does the Communist Party have a place in the nation. This is a very important question, a question of real concern... The aim of the ruling class is directly to intervene ... influence people to their duty .. in class consciousness and class ideology.. in a time when capitalism was able to .. one group as against another in order to take advantage of such conditions. We are sick .. They are exerting all pressure upon the country as a whole for a class of people which conflicts with the interest of the working class and is directed towards weakening the labor movement and - of the people.

Capitalism does not operate through - violence, but utilizes most advantageously, to gain its objectives through winning the people's ideals. The only assurance - is the constant struggle for a correct Marxist line - therefore, there can be no let up but the recognition that this is a constant struggle.....

These are some of the changes that we have made in this section of the resolution that I have presented to you and will propose that you adopt these changes as well as the whole section.... We are also presenting a resolution on Party organization, a companion - in this section on the general resolution... I would like to indicate to you some of the changes that we have made in the copy that is before you. The Draft Resolution on Party Organization... page 2, paragraph 2, which deals with a number of things, we propose to take out..... On page 5, paragraph 7, our line is at the top of the page, the sixth line.....

We propose to add the Party's training program must give special emphasis to the development in leadership of women especially Negro women. There are many .. in this position. I think this .. will be a considerable help to our Party. I cannot, for lack of time, go into this .. and therefore, would like to make a motion on .. resolution on Party organization.

NY 100-4931

We propose that this document .. for discussion in all clubs of the Party and that further that the discussion will be to establish organizational principles and methods of Party organization to accomplish this. The leadership on all levels will have to take up the - established organizational principles and methods... We propose: (1) that the doctrine of Party organization be discussed at all clubs in the Party... (2) following discussion... each district will hold a large meeting for organizational conferences to finalize discussion and to adopt proposals to further strengthen the organizational status of our Party and its leadership. I want to say that while this convention is that the press - representing the public is also very much interested in this question.

There is represented close to 6000 members on the basis of dues payments. This... does not embrace all those that consider themselves, and are in fact Party members but for one reason or another have lost contact through disorganization..... Some districts have been reorganized but .. resulted in many thousands of our members being cut off from our organization..... Dues payments reflect 70 to 75 percent of our membership .. 85 percent is considered unusually good. Outwardly with the present status of organizational work, the percentage of dues payments is lower than it should be. If all of this is taken into consideration..... a challenge to all of us to overcome this looseness of organization and especially the work and inspection of this convention we can estimate that our actual membership can be very close to 10,000.

Our Party has made some slight improvements, increasing its strength but this is very small. I would estimate that the downward curve has ceased and the curve now is upward. We want to propose .. present to you the organization of a recruiting drive to be conducted immediately following the convention. There is ... popular request such a recruiting drive can be a successful one and crown many of the decisions and work of this convention, so that we will make the 17th Convention, the convention to build the Communist Party. I think I have kept to my time, so I will stop right now.

NY 100-4931

Chairman HATHAWAY: The questions will be on the report and the adoption of the resolutions as amended. Before the next speaker, which will be BETTY GANNETT, of New York, BURT NELSON has an announcement to make for his committee.

BURT NELSON: I asked the Constitution Committee to assemble in the room beyond as soon as possible. We have a problem before us (laughter.)

Chairman HATHAWAY: Following BETTY (GANNETT), (TOM) DENNIS, of Detroit, will be the speaker.

BETTY GANNETT: Comrades, one of the important facts of life, which we must recognize at this convention is that our educational work is not (geared) to help implement and realize the Party's mass life. So long as our educational work is developed and isolated from the mass tasks of the Party, so long will it remain abstract, academic, and unrelated to life. The understanding that Marxism-Leninism serves as a guide to action applied concretely to each new change in the rapid development of events in our country and to the testing of our policies in life.

It is impossible in a few minutes to deal with the need and the means to unfold a systematic fight for mastery of Marxism in all levels of our Party, and why in the complexities of this rapidly changing world of ours, it is essential for a serious Communist to constantly refresh their knowledge in the light of study, of new developments, new problems, new theoretical propositions that arise as a result of the swift changes of events. Let me just say here that no one in our Party can have the pretentiousness of being a finished Marxist.

NY 100-4931

The renewal of our knowledge is a constant day to day, month to month task. Especially important is the need to address ourselves to new theoretical questions raised by the experiences of the Socialist world, the colonial liberation movements of today, the experiences of the working class of other countries and the specific and concrete new problems of Marxism that reflect themselves in our own country. This is all the more important because revisionism can - the whole body of Marxist science where in their insistence to take an American look at Marxism, they rejected the universal validity of the principles of Marxism.

We too have to take an American look at Marxism, but with a definite objective, to see how the universally valid principles of Marxism can help us better understand the realities of American life, the specific manifestations of our American capitalism particularly in its present day reality, the specific character of the bourgeois Democratic heritage, and the specific forces in our country.

The exact level of working class consciousness and the specific way in which to weld the unity of labor and its allies are shaping up. We will, after this convention, have to give a great deal of attention in order to raise the maturity and quality of the work in the entire Party. What I want to emphasize here, however, is the urgent need for our Party to engage in the battle of the minds of the people, and in the first place the working class. In unfolding our (mass line) many of the speakers emphasize the need of developing actions on the basis of the level of understanding that exists among the people. Other speakers at the convention stress the need of study and correctly estimating the moods and issues agitating the people as well as correctly estimating what are the issues and what forms of struggle are required in order to develop unity of action around these issues. We have not similarly raised the indispensable deed which no other force but we Communists can perform, that is how to eliminate the misconceptions, prejudices, and illusions that exist among the people in order to enhance their fighting capacity and advance the forms of struggle.

NY 100-4931

Our ruling class spends literally hundreds of millions of dollars every year to degrade, corrupt, befuddle, and dominate the minds of the people. It would be idiocy on our part not to realize the poisonous influence of these ideas and how they hold back and retard consciousness. We know, of course, that together with illusion and misconception there is much questioning among the working people. Many doubts are now prevalent.

We know too that Premier KHRUSHCHEV'S visit to our country did much to break down the hostility and misconceptions about the Soviet Union and the minds of the people are open, there are willing ears to listen to the talk about Socialist achievements and need for United States and Soviet friendship. Of course, it is a must for our Party to propagate the ideas of Socialism, to popularize Socialist achievements and what Socialism will mean in our country. Here too, we have much to learn on how to do it; how to translate our propaganda for Socialism in language and forms that workers can understand and especially in terms of their own experiences.

But, if we would consider this our only task in the field of mass education, we would seriously fail in our responsibility. We have to address ourselves to the ideas that becloud the minds of the people, to those ideas which prevent them from fighting most effectively for their immediate needs today. In order to lift the present level of understanding to a higher level, it is necessary to address ourselves to those ideas as they express themselves in the process of mass work in the struggles whether it be on peace, peaceful co-existence, the 1960 elections, the Negro rights, school desegregation, or housing. These are specific ideological problems that we have to overcome.

The chairman advised me that I do not have time to go ahead so I merely want to indicate that these are questions that are related to the illusions created in connection with people's capitalism, to wages, and prices, to mutual interest between management and corporations.

NY 100-4931

We Communists should be taught not only to be the best fighters for the needs of the people, but enlighteners (ph) of the minds of the people.

Chairman HATHAWAY: Following Comrade TOM DENNIS, of Detroit, will be (BEN) DOBBS of Southern California.

TOM DENNIS: Comrades, I served on the committee which drafted the documents you have and I fully support the documents as presented to you. I would just like to speak for a moment, in rather summary form on just one aspect that was raised in the documents and that is, there is a mention there of the form of organization in Michigan, namely the council set up. I would like to just sort of summarize for you the principles on the thinking which went into this approach to organize because as it is presented there it does not mean very much. It has to do with primarily the problem of effective leadership to our Party organization.

First of all the problem we face there and I don't think it is unique, is that we did not and could not maintain a large force of full-time cadre who had the time to service the organization. Secondly, our organization was considerably smaller than it had been in previous years. Thirdly, with the attempt to bring about a mass outlook, etc, it was necessary, we felt, to involve a lot more people in the active leadership of the district. So we have an approach which I think could serve both (in terms) of the national orientation as well as each state.

Our first idea and problem was how to overcome a long-standing problem of the gap between leadership and membership. Now this council set up was designed as follows:

The councils, city or state, were divided into what we termed councils made up of the club chairman plus the members of the State Committee, who were active or assigned to that particular area which this council covered. This brought together the state leadership because our concept of the state leadership is not just an officer or two, but the

NY 100-4931

entire State Committee. We brought them together into one body See, we have had the proposition where the people who were at the point of production were the ones responsible to ultimately carry out the policy and they were not being directly involved in the formulation of that policy. We felt that this problem had to be overcome and this was our attempt to overcome the problem.

Further it brought the leadership closer to the membership and to the problems of carrying out policy which they had decided upon. It is not so easy to carry out some of the policy you have decided upon if you are not there, where you have to work it out. Therefore, sometimes you stop and think if you are in that position as to whether you should decide on a particular policy or not because you do not see it being carried out. The other facet of this was that these councils had what we might term a semi-autonomy. What I mean is that in the areas in which they work, whether it be industry or in a particular community, they had the responsibility, and the authority to develop policy and tactics as related specifically to their area within the framework of the overall policy of the state and national organization.

NY 100-4931

TOM DENNIS CONTINUED: This was designed to develop and to free the initiative of the lower organizations who were directly involved in carrying out and meeting with the masses of the people. We felt that would enhance collectivity in which you could pull together the specialized knowledge and abilities of more of the membership and the leadership of the district which included club leadership under this heading. To mold it better and there you would be able to get a much better synthesis of the abilities and so forth of the district.

Now our experience on it has been spotty and I think it is important to indicate because it also brought out certain problems. The problem of lack of readiness of some of our comrades to take advantage, let's say, because of training and past practices, of being responsible for deciding policy in a particular area. Now this is a carry-over from our past methods of work and it is a weakness. It tended to make it extremely difficult to realize the outlook or objective which we had in this form and haven't as yet realized. We have been operating on it for a couple of years now. Next in this problem of weakness, we had a problem because we came up against the fact that the past methods of work had tended to stunt initiative This was a real problem and still is a problem. Also we had the problem of bending the rod the other way, in some areas they took the ball and really tried to run with it to the extent that they almost became an autonomous republic.

So you see you have problems and they tend to separate themselves from the overall state organization. I think, however, that with all of these problems it really requires this kind of a setup in order to come to grips with our method of work, and to really release the initiative and leadership and the collectivity of the Party organization.

Chairman HATHAWAY: Comrades, (BEN) DOBBS, I understand, is tied up in a committee. We will have Comrade MORT (SCHEER) of Buffalo followed by Comrade GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago.

NY 100-4931

MORT (SCHEER): I am very honored to be representating here my area from Buffalo. I am also honored to introduce a resolution from the Party organization committee, which I will do after a few brief remarks.

I think a new kind of unity is developing in our Party and I think it is evidenced not only at this convention but has been evidenced at all the conventions I have participated in from county, state and now on a national level. This kind of unity is not the unity of the past where differences were not frankly discussed, and not the kind of unity compromising with revisionism, but it is a new unity. It is a unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, based on confidence in our Party, based on frank discussion of differences, overestimates and policies and through this interchange arriving at a line which we will all go out for to fight amongst the masses.

This is a new situation in the Party which better equips us to meet the new situation that is developing in the country and the world. This new situation is very evidenced in my place, my home town, Buffalo. The estimate of Comrade GUS HALL in his report that the class struggle is sharpening is very evident in Buffalo. Just to give a few examples from the big steel strike of over 25,000 workers in Buffalo, there are a number of other strikes in smaller shops. Shops that have not been on strike in years, they are not just one or two day strikes but long strikes so that the whole strike struggle is a class struggle. In addition there is the tax question, the whole attempt to shift the taxes even farther onto the backs of the workers has exploded. The whole attempt to shift the tax burden on the small home owners and away from the real estate interests and the private utilities and so forth. Also the attacks on the Negro people have sharpened greatly in Buffalo through the type of re-development and rehabilitation programs that are taking place. The Negro people are being squeezed more and more into smaller slum areas because of the whole Jim Crow system of housing segregation.

NY 100-4931

Well, just to examine the reaction of the people reconfirms 'GUS' (HALL) estimates on the (fight back). Just in the past two weeks in Buffalo, 10,000 people protested against the tax increases and flooded City Hall so that the mayor had to get on television. They abandoned the attempt to increase the tax assessments on small home owners.

On the attacks on the Negro people, a mass petition campaign and a march on City Hall developed to save the homes of the Negro people and public housing projects which they are thinking of doing away with in Buffalo. All steel locals met and voted in Buffalo to resume the strike and in one steel local to go beyond the Kaiser settlement.

The UAW in our area alerted all its members in the trade union movement to come to the support of a Negro family that broke the Jim Crow barriers in the city of Tonawanda, by being the first family to move into that area. All of these new developments which are taking place on a local level in Buffalo, I think, are taking place nationally. These developments are shaking up the politicians and are shaking up the local union toward bureaucracy in our area. This new situation has created tremendous possibilities for the Party and for the people to go from the defensive into an offensive.

The Party in Buffalo throughout all of these struggles has been playing a vanguard role to one extent or another, as I am sure the Party throughout the country has been playing a vanguard role throughout their struggles in different localities. However, we are not yet a decisive force in these struggles. Our correct estimate and our correct line on the steel strike for example had a very important influence on the steel workers, yet, because of the size of our Party organization in the steel mills, and among the steel workers, we are not able to bring that full estimate and full line into fruition. We were not able to change a defensive struggle into an offensive struggle

NY 100-4931

or even to raise the level of mobilization of the workers, to the extent that it would be possible if there was a strong Party in that steel industry in Buffalo. Therefore the workers are suffering defeat not only because of the offensive of big capital and not only because of the (retreating) policies of the labor bureaucrats but the workers and the people are suffering defeats because of the small Communist Party and the fact that the Party has been under attack over these last 12 years.

I think we were right when we said a long time ago that the attack on the Party is the first attack and then there will be an attack on the labor movement and the people generally. Not only that but the attack is developing into full force and to the extent that we can rebuild the Party is the extent that we will re-equip the people to meet this attack and go on to the offensive.

Hence the building of the Party becomes decisive not only for ourselves in any partisan sense but decisive for the people because the people are not getting the type of leadership they need. This does not mean that there aren't leaders moving in a progressive direction. This is not any blanket condemnation of the leadership, but if the people are getting adequate leadership, they do not need a Communist Party. They need a Communist Party precisely because they are not getting adequate leadership.

In Buffalo through these struggles we have been able to recruit and to develop groups of non-Party and Party workers to study the question of Marxism. I think this resolution here is very very important for the whole Party and I am very proud to introduce the resolution on the building of the Party. I just want to add one word in regard to the resolution on building the Party. That is, it is not just enough to increase our Party quantitatively, that is important, but we have to increase our Party qualitatively.

NY 100-4931

This means that in the recruiting drive, each area in my opinion should single out what steelworkers, what auto workers, what basic workers can be recruited in this drive. It means singling out what women, Negro women, youth both Negro and white, Puerto Rican and Mexican American people can be recruited in this drive. That we just don't have a quantitative approach to this drive but a qualitative approach.

Now, the motion on Party building campaign. The 17th Convention will become known as the "build the Party convention." The political, economic and social struggles which are emerging in this period demands that our Party begin the process of rebuilding. There is much evidence today to indicate a widespread interest in our Party. Wherever our Party has begun to initiate struggles in the interests of the people, our Party has not only been stabilized but is beginning to recruit new members. This 17th Convention proposes that a recruiting drive be organized immediately following this convention with the increasing of our membership by 10 per cent by May Day. We propose that each district will discuss the proposals for the recruiting drive. We'll work out plans and methods and inform the National Office of its goals by January 30. The National (Office) will organize the details of coordinating and giving leadership to this recruitment drive.

Today amongst the youth, Negro and white, there is a growing curiosity and interest in our movement. Amongst the workers there are many who are seeking the counsel and advice of the Party in the problems confronting their unions. Amongst the people who left our Party are those who have remained active and will be interested in rejoining our ranks on the basis of the policies emerging at this convention.

We propose that the national leadership, the incoming NC, make themselves available to participate in this drive by visiting individuals and meeting with groups

NY 100-4931

for the purpose of recruiting into our Party. We propose that each NC member shall adopt a personal quota and shall inform the National Office. We propose that this example be duplicated by all district committee members. We propose that every club in the Party discuss the recruiting drive and adopt a club quota. We propose that when contacts are not yet ready to join the Party, that Marxist study groups be formed. We propose that the ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN pamphlet "Horizons of the Future" be utilized as an introduction of our Party to potential recruits. We propose that May Day meetings be organized in every district of the Party where possible and that these methods mark the conclusion of the recruiting drive.

The delegates to the 17th Convention pledge themselves to set an example to the entire Party and fight to build our Party. Every national officer elected by the NC shall be assigned to a district to participate in that district drive. The 17th Convention will become known as the convention which led to the rebuilding of the Party.

Chairman HATHAWAY: To avoid complicating matters later I think this resolution here has the approval of the Organizational Committee. If there is a second to the motion we can act here and now. Are there any objections to this proposal? If not, all those in favor will signify by showing your cards. Contrary. This resolution is adopted. Now Comrade LIGHTFOOT of Chicago followed by Comrade (THOMAS) NABRIED of Eastern Pennsylvania.

NY 100-4931

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT: I want to be one of those who join in welcoming the resolution on Party organization. In my opinion, the resolution answers a use, to tackle and answer the many questions that are raised today. How can we, as communists, make a greater contribution in the united front and how can we, as communists, do better in building the Party of Socialism in our country?

First, I want to limit my remarks to only two aspects of the resolution, one on the renewal of left initiative, and the other on a role of a communist in a united front. I would like to concentrate the first on one organization in Chicago, that in my opinion is beginning to do the job that should be done in helping to build the organization under that initiative, that is the Afro-American Heritage Association, which no resolution ... has heard about. It is getting great response in the Southside. Its objective is one, to (reverse ?) the history of the Negro people, to relate their history to its origin in Africa and to ... to our struggles with the knowledge of our contributions to civilization.

What form does this organization take? Last year there were ... mass meetings, at which two of the meetings Dr. (W.E.B.) DUBOIS spoke, one E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER (ph) spoke and another, I do not remember the name but one of the ... representatives from Ghana, there was a reception there. Each one was very successful and it seems that people were most interested because a number of the, you know the whole objective of the meeting was to imbue confidence in the Negro people in order that they could make greater contributions in the struggles today. Coming up to Negro History Week, LANGSTON HUGHES (ph) is coming and the possibility ... has made quite a study of that ... Two meetings, mass meetings, within one week is the objective of the Afro-American Heritage Association during Negro History Week.

In addition to the large meetings there are smaller discussion groups that are constantly organized with the objectives that I have mentioned above. Thirdly,

NY 100-4931

the Association is in the process now of setting up book shelves in numerous public places like beauty shops, barber shops and places where people congregate, where they can buy books and the book committee is called "Bans", books about Negroes, that will be distributed throughout the community in order that Negro History material will be easily accessible to the people in the community. The main objective of the Heritage Association is to try to seek participation of Negroes and white friends of democracy around the ... One, Negro history, and this comes from reading a little brochure that the Association is putting out. Negro History Week, a week each year founded by CARL WHITLEY (ph) in February, whereby birthdays of FREDERICK DOUGLAS, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN appear. The second named date is Afro-Freedom Day, April 15th each year, adopted by the all African (continent ?) as a day dedicated to the freedom and independence from imperialism and colonialism.

We feel that freedom and independence of all Africa helps the cause over the world of independent thinking and inequality And the third date they make, that the Association is helping to popularize is September 27th, the day of the address of the Emancipation Proclamation, which was a blow not only against slavery of Americans of African descent but was also a blow against slavery in the world

The other point is in relation to the role of communists in the united front, and I have to limit it because I have used up most of my time. I would like to urge that you accept this not as a personal thing but I am only using myself as an example because it is very difficult for me, as GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT, the wife of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, to work in any organization hardly without being known as a communist. Usually when I go where people know you are not, they say what is your name, my name is GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT. Are you, I say yes CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's wife. But there were some very interesting experiences that I have had within the last year or year and a half. It was

NY 100-4931

necessary to become a member of the main Negro women's organization and so I too joined a federated club, one of the federated clubs. That was last year in December. A week later, the leader of the federated club had me to come over to discuss something and she asked then - she said, "Mrs. LIGHTFOOT, what is your husband's name?" I thought that maybe I could work in that organization for a month or two, you know, and let the people know me before I said my husband's name is CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, you know. She said, Oh, I am so glad because I have so much respect for the communists. It could have been just the opposite if she did not have respect for the communists. I would have had a very rough time, but during that year we worked very closely together attempting just as much and no more or less than the average member in the club, but carrying our load as a member of the federated club. But as a result, this woman plus another shop steward in this club has gotten a subscription to "The Worker" and I told one of the members in my Party club that I was going to try to recruit. She said, "wait a minute GERALDYNE, do not go so fast, take it easy." But I think there is a possibility of recruiting at least one of these members within a year or year and a half time. My time is up.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: Comrade (TOM) NABRIED of Eastern Pennsylvania followed by JIM WEST.

TOM NABRIED: Comrades, GUS HALL's report and the many good speeches that have been made since his report lay the foundation for unification and consolidation of our Party and for the Party to move forward and unfold its mass policy. I think that in this light our Party at this convention has made the turning point and is now in a position to move forward. Yet, we must recognize that we still have many difficulties to overcome. In my own district that got started a little late I would say, moving toward overcoming some of the damage done by revisionism.

NY 100-4931

Nevertheless, we do consider that the Party there is consolidating itself and moving ahead.

During the process of fighting for the Party, reorganizing its leadership, the Party did succeed in carrying out some work. It has not been a stagnant situation. During that period, the Party has participated in helping to elect the first Negro Congressmen from Philadelphia to Washington. The Party's membership at various levels, not evenly, are participating in various forms of mass work, in block organizations, civic organizations, trade unions, et cetera. Only recently there was an election taking place in a trade union. Comrades working there got together and discussed what was possible to be done. Well, that union had an all-white leadership. After some discussion at the last minute the comrades decided that a Negro must run, and so a group of communists and non-communists got together and worked out some strategy and tactics on how to do it. Well, the result was that in this local where we had had an all white leadership ever since the local had been in existence, the Negro won in that local for Vice President and was one of the highest vote getters. This was done mainly because a program of activity was worked out as to how to achieve this particular job.

Further, the Party is also engaged in work in civic organizations and particularly, I would say, on the west side of Philadelphia, where the Party organization there is working with a group of people who have already forced certain cooperations on the part of city officials in helping to get Negro teenagers jobs. In this sense, they are also developing activity now challenging the Democratic Party in that area to nominate and to elect Negro representatives in an area where Negroes have not been elected before. These are some of the activities.

Now as to some of the shortcomings. While we can say that we have moved ahead on these positive issues, we still have weaknesses within the Party organization

NY 100-4931

and that is, I would say, between leadership for the district and section scale and leadership to the club. I think, comrades, that this is one of the key questions that we talk about unfolding a mass policy. We must work to strengthen the club, that is the link of the Party organization to the masses. So often in our district where we have work going on in many instances, it is done by one or two individuals from a club but not involving the club entirely as an organized group. Therefore, we find that the tendency is that the club sometimes is neglected and does not get the benefit of the fruits of the work that many of these comrades are carrying on. So I think I would agree with BETTY (GANNETT) that one of the key questions before us today is carrying on an educational campaign designed to bring education in on the issues and the policies or the immediate policies of the Party. But back education from classes, classics and Party material so that the foundation of our comrades will be on a solid base and not just on current issues that the Party happens to be struggling on.

I believe in that way, comrades, we will strengthen our Party organization and we will be in a position to move forward much more rapidly in unfolding a united front policy from below.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: Following Comrade (JIM) WEST, Comrade JUANITA from Northern California.

JIM WEST: Comrades, the members of the committee were of the opinion that the convention should hear the letter that Comrade PHIL (BART) referred to in his remarks. A letter addressed to the Communist Party of the United States of America at this hotel, at this convention hall. We feel it is of interest to you in that, among other things, it offers its own small confirmation of all that has been said in (delivery of the part ?) here. It is also a small measure of the power of attraction which is inherent in our deliberations to the American people and in reading it you

NY 100-4931

might want to think back a few years as to where we were a few years ago and ponder on the significance of this letter in contrast to that time.

It is from the Columbia College Political Assembly, John Jay Hall, Columbia University. It is dated December 11th and reads as follows: Communist Party of the United States of American, Mr. EUGENE DENNIS, c/o Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York, New York:

"Dear Sir,

"The present condition of the American people and what measures can be taken to alleviate their troubles are issues of great concern. These issues and their relation to the activities of the Communist Party are largely matters where vague impressions and not knowledge, are possessing the public's thoughts and actions. The Columbia College Political Assembly offers an invitation to you to address the undergraduates of Columbia University on this subject, 'The Future of the Communist Party - Does the Communist Party Have a Place in the Making and Re-Making of Our Society with a View of Greater Social, Political and Economic Equality for all Our Citizens'. The date will be chosen at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Corresponding Secretary."

Comrades, this is not so much a report on the miscellaneous resolutions, as they are called before the committee that prepared the documents, as a brief report on the resolutions which came in over and beyond those resolutions adopted by the districts and which were sent to the National Office which dealt specifically with problems of Party organization and all of which, in one way or another, helped produce the documents that you have before you.

NY 100-4931

Fourteen resolutions were received from clubs, regions and districts in addition to the minutes and proceedings of state conventions for a whole number of districts. A resolution from Michigan called for the formation of regional committees, such as the Southern Region. And in its own words, says to assure the maximum collectivity in democracy in work, the National Committee should require frequent meetings and constant practical guidance by the National Committee members in their own areas. There should, therefore, be established in four main regions of the country, West, Midwest, South and East, regional committees consisting of all National Committee members who reside and function in these areas. Such regional committees should be delegated political authority by the National Committee to initiate and guide work in their respective regions in accord with established national policy.

The Committee proposes, first, that in the resolution on Party organization, this idea is incorporated. Secondly, we referred this idea to the Constitution Committee with a proposal to include an enabling clause giving the National Committee the authority to set up regional committees. In addition, it proposes that the resolution from Michigan be referred to the incoming National Committee for action.

There is another resolution calling for moving the Party national center to Chicago. The committee proposes that this be a special point, especially since there was a 16th convention decision on this question and since the outgoing National Committee had a number of deliberations on this question and undoubtedly will want to report on its findings to this convention. It, therefore, proposes the presiding committee report out on this question. Also the resolutions propose improvements and amendments to the section dealing with the Party in the main resolution as well as other proposals to strengthen the Party and its ability to realize its guiding role. These include proposals relating to the relationship of leadership to membership,

NY 100-4931

on the Party's mass educational work, on the need to strengthen the Party's ideological and theoretical work, on the role of the Party club, on the inner situation, on the role of communists working in the mainstream, on the need for a differentiated approach to those who left the Party.

We believe that you will find that most of these proposals are incorporated either in the new draft of the Party section of the main resolution or in the resolution on the Party organization or in the resolution on the Party building campaign, which was already adopted by this convention. In addition, since many of the resolutions contain concrete proposals and ideas, the committee also proposes that they be referred to the incoming National Committee for further consideration and action.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: The next speaker is Comrade JUANITA (from Northern California), followed by Comrade RHODA of New York.

JUANITA WHEELER: I am here this morning, comrades, to present to you a resolution on the work of women in the Party. A committee of eight women and with Comrade PAT (possibly PATTERSON) of New York making a valuable contribution. The committee consisted of four women from New York, three from California, north and south, and this I must add comrades, we were not divided, and one from Washington. There were a number of resolutions presented to this committee, from California, New York, New Jersey and from East Pennsylvania and Washington. We were not able to include all the ideas presented in this resolution but we tried at least to give this convention a stirring point on this question. This committee endorses and recommends the ... article in the "Party Affairs" on this question. In addition, we recommend to this convention the resolution for their adoption.

NY 100-4931

This is the resolution. In order to achieve and fulfill the bold ideas for our Party and the people's ... in this convention for peace, security, civil rights, the future of our youth, political voice in the strength of our working class Party, we must under (stand?) and seek the full participation of women. Women are already in motion fighting back against exploitation, discrimination in the home, in shops, on the farm, and against the bar for full participation in the economic, social, cultural, and political life of our country. Ninety percent of the women are housewives, 35% of all women also hold jobs outside of their homes. They are unpaid labor as housewives and underpaid labor as workers and are the source of super profits in big business. Of the 22 million women who work, only 3½ million are organized. Their average is 60% of men's wages. They are forced into the lowest rate jobs and have few opportunities for upgrading.

Negro women workers are subject to extra exploitation. Their average is ½ of that of white women, 62% of their jobs are limited to domestic and servants work. These degrading conditions and barriers to better working conditions of women will continue to effect the working standards of all workers unless the trade unions undertake a consistent campaign for the rights of women workers. Not only is it necessary to organize the unorganized and extend minimum wage benefits but it is necessary to undertake a special campaign to wipe out the pay differential, upgrade women workers and open the doors of job opportunities. Puerto Ricans and Mexican-American women are also at the lowest rung of the job and pay ladder in light of manufacture and industry and agriculture.

The family tax payments have gone to pay off the super profits of big business and the war budget at the expense of decent housing, schools, health, recreational facilities and full programs for our youth. The cold war has been the biggest beast in the minds of our children. War psychology has put the stamp of approval on force and violence.

NY 100-4931

War scares have made him unsure of the future. Women can take a war budget and turn it into a peace budget. community work can help convert bombers into schools, houses and a decent life. Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women face the ghetto problem of small, smaller than average, pay checks to meet exorbitant prices and rents. The worst housing and school conditions raises the tax upon themselves and their families and are in constant battle with the slum atmosphere of dirt, disease and deterioration. This is a spreading epidemic that infects our whole society. White women, and society as a whole, in their own interests must undertake concrete plans to eradicate it. More effective programs for progress can be carried out by encouraging and using the power of women as a political force in the 1960 elections. We must help bring into action the vote of Negro and poor white women in the South, the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women's right to register in Spanish and all women's rights to political participation and representation.

The main barrier to understanding this status and need of women is the concept of the weak-kneed, weak minded, unstable woman. Big business uses male supremacy as the means of carrying out this concept in order to guarantee its super profits from this whole group of underpaid workers. Women in our country are highly organized in social, civil, church, religion, political, professional, business community, historical and auxiliary organizations. Most of these organizations have movements for peace, civil rights, economic security, civil liberties, youth problems and women's rights. United action among women's organizations on the above issues can be a powerful force in support of the American working class and the people's movement, an integral and necessary part of an anti-monopoly coalition. The Party has long recognized the special exploitation of women, their status, special needs and the value of eliciting their vigorous fight back in behalf of the working class and broad people's movements. But participation has been uneven, inconsistent and of late, not at all.

NY 100-4931

Therefore, we propose to this convention the consciousness of the status of women, the rights of women, the role of women should be drawn like a thread through every aspect of Party work. Number two, set up a national women's commission with all deliberate speed, also commissions in districts wherever possible. Number three, the Party has the task of putting forward a program that will bring forth all women in work and leadership with special attention to the problems of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American and Indian women. Four, an ideological and popular program to understand the sources of discrimination against women. Five, a program to understand and popularize the role of women under socialism. Six, conferences and discussions to develop local and national programs of work and the status of women. March 8, 1960, the whole world will celebrate the 50th Anniversary of International Women's Day, born in the USA.

We can take this occasion to renew these ties with the international women's movement. We will also celebrate the 40th anniversary of the women's right to vote. We ask everyone to help us make these celebrations a big leap forward in recognizing the hold and power of women's activities and organizations. The tremendous value and impact of the United Women's Movement and a program for the rights of women that will encourage them to add their militant fight-back with the people's movement against the common enemy, monopoly capital, for a peaceful world, economic well-being, inequality and soon the goal of socialism. I would like to move that this convention adopt this resolution.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: It has been moved and seconded that the convention adopt the resolution on work among women. Are there any further counter proposals? If not, all those in favor will signify by showing your cards. All those opposed. Unanimous. I think, comrades, that we - comrades RHODA of New York was called I believe as the next speaker.

NY 100-4931

RHODA (Possibly GADSON): I would like to address my few, I hope brief, remarks to the women's question. An earlier speaker on this question mentioned three elements of this. These being male supremacy, feminism and passivity. And I think I would like to emphasize this question of passivity, because this is a large element, a large reason why this question is not taken up. Women themselves, unfortunately, and even Communist women this is true of, are guilty of passivity on this whole question. Frequently they will fight on the Negro question, the trade union question, on many other questions which are very important, there is no question of this, but will not fight in this field. Complaining of male supremacy or even of feminism is not sufficient. The women themselves must set the example. They must set the example for the men and they must set the example for the Party. The women themselves must fight for the understanding, number one, that the American standard of living where it exists, and we all know how uniform this is, but where it exists the American standard of living would be impossible without the labor of women. Without the second salary, the ... and so-called conveniences would be impossible. Not only did the women work before they were married and of course 50% of them work while they are married, but another interesting figure is that 62% of all American women between the ages of 35 to 64, and 62 is the retirement age for women, are working.

The resolutions submitted by the women's committee mentions celebrations of International Women's Day and in New York last year we had such a celebration, and I am sure other sections of the country also celebrated this day. However, I have always felt that celebrating International Women's Day was not really dealing with the women's question, or at least limiting it to a celebration of this day, any more than celebrating May Day is the only way of dealing with trade union questions. Women must address themselves, and women in the Party in terms of programmatic work, must address themselves to specific demands of women, among which is the question of leadership in unions. There are such unions in general although this is of value, but the ILGWU for example, the women's trade in the garment trades

NY 100-4931

where there are many women, the dress making trades, unions where you have over 90% composition of women, and you do not have one single woman in top leadership.

This should be a major programmatic demand and I am sure we have comrades in these industries and this should be a concentration point for them to work on. Another demand, something that exists in many, not only the socialist countries, but exists in many capitalist countries, Australia, Canada, and some of the better lot countries, and that is family allowances for large families, a certain allotment for the first child, an allowance for the second child, an allowance for the third child. This will help to take some of the pressure off women and would enable some women to stay home who are just forced to work and would begin to recognize the legal responsibility of the government in terms of the need of women and needs of children. The women's committee was indebted to comrade PATTERSON for drawing the attention of the committee to the declaration of the rights of the child as adopted by the United Nations and I think that foremost among our demands that we raise with all of the women's organizations, regardless of class lines on this question, is a demand that the United States Government implement the declaration of the rights of the child in this country, right here at home in (casting ?) the safety, the health, the education of all American children, including all minority children. Now just working on this one demand it seems to me presents a wide open field. There is much work that can be developed under this type of a slogan. I think it is important too that we stress among white women and among white Party women that their own self interests are involved in fighting for the rights of minority women. The immediate example of this that comes to mind is the ROSA LEE INGRAM (ph) case with which I am sure that most of us are familiar. This sort of a defense of the rights of women crosses all class lines and, of course, all national lines.

In the work of the women's committee, I was very happy to discover that Washington and other medium size districts had already done considerable work on this question

NY 100-4931

and they had resolutions to introduce and some of them already have women's commissions in operation. In this connection, I think that the New York organization, of which I am a member, as the largest district in the Party, should critically examine their ... inattention to this question, and, of course, I include myself in this criticism.

I would like to make a motion to the convention that an abstract, which is a short version of the discussion article entitled, "The Fight for Women's Rights Today", that appeared in the "Party Affairs" in December, 1959, be added to the draft resolution as a substantial part of the draft resolution as a task before the whole Party.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: At this time, I understand that there is a delegation from the Garment Workers that wants to present our convention with flowers. I might say, comrades, that from my earliest association with the Party, and they go back a long time, we have always had strong and loyal support among the garment workers of New York and in other sections of the country. It is in dealing with many of the problems of the working class and the garment workers of the country have faced, that our Party has always played an active part in giving them help and guidance. So on behalf of the Convention, we want to give our thanks to the garment workers and our sincere appreciation for the flowers that they have submitted.

Now comrades, We have had a lot of discussion on this question. There are a large number of comrades that have submitted requests to be heard but I think that a time has been reached where we have to act on these motions. So if there is no objection, at this time, we will act on the report of the committee on the recommendations that they have made. The first motion of the committee is that the convention adopt section 6 of the general resolution entitled, "The Communist Party as part of the - that the Communist Party is part of the political resolution". All those in favor

NY 100-4931

of that will signify by showing your cards. All those opposed. Unanimous.

Do I understand that Comrade CANTOR wants to make an amendment?

ESTHER CANTOR: On the report of the committee on the Communist Party on page 2, the 5th paragraph, I would like to add a sentence after the paragraph - The Party must examine the whole struggle for legality.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: Okay, go ahead.

ESTHER CANTOR: That sentence as a form of an amendment to the committee report. The reason for it is that, comrade chairman, there is a need for such an examination and there have been considerable discussions within our ranks as whether or not our Party is most effective in mass thinking of the American people in defense of Communism Party advocates social change and that this is many aspects of mass struggle, the struggle for the fight for legality

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: I understand, the chair understands that Comrade (EVELYN) WIENER wishes to speak on this question.

WIENER: Well, first I would like to say for the committee that we accept the amendment made by Comrade ESTHER. Secondly, comrades, the chair agreed to let me have the floor to make some general remarks on the Party and the discussion here. First comrades, I think that we are having a wonderful convention. I think it is truly going to be the convention that the whole thing in operation, and is the convention to build the Party. I would

NY 100-4931

like to make several points, the first on the central nature of the Negro question which was dealt with by Comrade CLAUDE(LIGHTFOOT).

At our New York State Convention, and it has been two and a half years since the reconstitution of the Party, we have fought and fought hard to make this question central. One of the impediments has been that many of our white comrades have been in the mainstream and lost the paddle, the paddle that comrade GUS (HALL) spoke about never losing. It has been an uphill fight, a sharp ideological struggle to convince our white comrades about the possibility and the necessity to again become a Party that is known as a crusader for Negro rights. Very often we do not have the confidence of getting up and fighting on this question in the people's organizations. Where we did have the confidence we have gotten thrilling experiences.

It is the thinking of our New York State leadership that in order to save the public school system of New York, we must fight for the integration of schools and we have won some important successes along these lines. 1400 children were transferred from JIM CROW schools to Glendale (ph) and we were successful in helping defeat a fascist movement that tried to stop it. Just last week, we got an announcement that 1000 children of Harlem are going to be transferred to schools which are the best in New York City because they have a school on Park Avenue. We know that the real estate interests who have fought hard to keep this a lily-white community are organizing to defeat it, but our white comrades in the Party have had the thrilling experience of getting support from PTA presidents and all kinds of organizations to welcome the children of Harlem into the fancy Park Avenue community.

Secondly, comrades, I would like to deal with the question of the fight for our Party. I think, comrades, that a special spirit was added to this convention by the remarks of comrade ARCHIE BROWN. When we entered our convention, someone said, someone who has a little bit of that

NY 100-4931

cynicism that GUS argued against, said to me, what the devil is the matter with you? Alright you are proud of that DAVIS, he is in your county, but now you act as if ARCHIE BROWN is yours, in fact you even act as though LILLY (ph) is yours. Well, it certainly is, comrades, and we are very proud of it. Comrades, I would like to deal with the question of leadership. I think that the resolution on the Party which states that the main weakness of the Party leadership on a national and district level has been the failure to come abreast of the new developments, with analysis, policy, program and tactical leadership to most effectively equip our Party so that it may play its full role to influence and contribute to the mass developments shaping up today.

Many of our leaders remain isolated from our Party membership and the mass movement. I think that this is a correct criticism of our leadership. Comrades, this convention and the conventions which preceded it, have some important lessons for us. It is this which gives such confidence in the future of Our Party. The membership will fall into the struggle valiantly to save our Party is today rising to the occasion and help to think for our Party and helping to mold policy for our Party. That is why every resolution is enriched with the thinking of the many conventions. We in New York are particularly proud of the contributions that our Harlem comrades made to the resolution on the Negro question. We are proud of our Party in Harlem which was smashed by the revisionists and today is beginning to establish itself among the people. Everytime I see the I remember a meeting of BEN DAVIS, comrades. But we know that our Party in Harlem is going to grow to the extent that the whole Party is imersed in the struggle for Negro rights. Comrades, this convention, in addition to helping develop a line for our Party, is going to elect a new leadership. What kind of a leadership do we need? We need a leadership, first of all, which remembers that in this, the strongest capitalist country, that it is socialism that is on the ascendancy and draws from that the confidence in our class and our Party.

NY 100-4931

We need a leadership that breaks with bureaucracy, but also a leadership that does not abdicate leadership but leadership that leads. We need a leadership as our Party committee on organization. There is one comrade that kept saying I am not the best leader but then he said, if in my shop three years ago I went to the convention and I got in trouble because I played sick, so this year our Party made a decision that I begin to come out openly as a Communist. This year I discussed with the workers in my shop that I was going to a Party convention and they raised money to send me and said they would protect my job if I have any trouble. That is the kind of leaders our Party has to be refreshed with.

One word on the recruiting drive. We welcome it, we are very happy about it. I would like to say that our state organization voted in two years time to double its membership. In this convention, I would like to, in the name of the New York County delegation, the Manhattan delegation, challenge the Chicago delegation in victory in the recruiting drive. I would like to say particularly for I am instructed by our young comrades, to particularly pledge to build the Party among the youth. They would like to express their challenge to the Chicago youth and I would like to say for our comrades in Harlem, we pledge to build our Party in Harlem and will challenge you on the Southside and especially we want to build our Party among great heroines of Americans today, the Negro women.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: Comrade BART has a proposal to make on behalf of the committee.

PHIL BART: The committee, has in its resolution, a section dealing with constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore the Bill of Rights; however, we do not oppose the amendment which I want to read once again. What I read from was page 2,

NY 100-4931

5th paragraph. The committee accepts this amendment as follows: I will read it; deleting the part that was already indicated. The Party needs to re-examine the struggle for its own legality - this sentence to be added to this section. That would be on page 2 at the end of the 5th paragraph. That sentence would read and I repeat it again, The Party needs to re-examine the struggle for its own legality.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: A question has been called for. All those in favor signify by showing your cards. Those opposed. Adopted. The next motion - the motion on the resolution on Party organization. The proposal to use that as the basis for Party discussion, et cetera, as presented by the committee. Ready to vote? All those in favor show your cards. Opposed? Adopted.

NY 100-4931

Chairman HATHAWAY: SOL (ph) (possibly SOLOMON MONROY) from Southern California which will be followed by reports of "The Worker".

SOL (MONROY): Comrades, the document that I am going to present to you has been a document which has taken over one year to prepare. There has been numerous discussions and this document is presented to you from the comrades, Mexican comrades, in the Southern California area, mainly Los Angeles. I must mention at this time before commencing that one of the highlights that the Mexican comrades had in Los Angeles was the visit one evening that GUS HALL had with us on his trip to the West Coast. He spent an evening with the Mexican comrades. It would be amiss then in not giving credit to a comrade who during the period that this document was being developed, an able comrade who gave leadership and was the guiding hand to the Mexican comrades in the Los Angeles area, namely a comrade who has done a job beyond what I consider the regular call, that is BEN DOBBS.

The Mexican-American people are located in the Southwest and constitute the largest national minority in that area. Our Party can only reflect the Southwest if it is rooted among the Mexican-American people. This is true not only because of the historical development of the region but because today there are approximately four million Mexican people there. Substantial progress can only be made in all sections of the working class movement, the labor unions, . . . independent political action, etc., when the . . . significance of the Mexican-American people is recognized.

The Mexican-American people constitute an oppressed national minority with strong ties of language and culture. They suffer discrimination and chauvinism and the entire

NY 100-4931

pattern of the national oppression. There are several distinct features of the region and the Mexican-American people that requires study and analysis. One of the features is that it is heterogenous, that among the four million many of them have been here for the past three centuries and because they became a conquered people when the United States forcibly wrested the Southwest from Mexico in 1848.

A second segment of the group arrived in the United States in the waves of immigration from Mexico that began the turbulence opened up by the Mexican Revolution that racked Mexico from 1910 to 1917. Immigration from Mexico has continued in large numbers since then, reaching a yearly peak of 65,000 in 1955.

The second feature of the community is its still existing popular use of the Spanish language, the continuing influence of the culture of Mexico.

The third feature is the relatively low standards of organization as a people. This is seen in the fact that there is no Spanish language or bilingual press that plays the same role as does the Negro press in the Negro liberation movement. Further, the strong continuing tie with the Catholic Church that plays no part in the fight for equality and integration.

The Mexican-American people have been deprived of a long experience in the hard school of parliamentary and electoral struggles. The middle class, the professionals and the bourgeoisie form an almost insignificant percentage of the Mexican community. In Los Angeles alone there is not more than two dozen doctors, the 1950 census counts twelve. Lawyers are found in similar small amounts. There are reputed to be two architects, two dozen social workers, etc. The business man is found primarily in small one or two people retail businesses. The overriding distinguishing feature is the working class composition of the Mexican-American people. In the Southwest they constitute the vast majority of mining, smelting, refining industry as well as in the agricultural fields.

NY 100-4931

In many parts of the country they are a vital part of the basic industry. In Los Angeles, for example, they already constitute what might be described as the working class, as the heart of the working class. They are the major part of the working class in organized industries such as steel, auto, longshore, furniture and food processing as well as in others including the skilled trades.

In some other industries such as garment and electronics there are over 50,000 Mexican women. This (polarization) has created the (stage) for a large stable community. This fact together with the influence of nationalism in Mexico increased educational and economic opportunities and have created a trend which is increasing the unity of various elements of the community as well as increasing the consciousness of the people with special problems.

National expressions of the growing identity in group consciousness are the National Community Service Organization and the American G. I. Forum. Both are broad social action organizations, liberal in character and they are the first to arrive on a national scale and involve the banner of an anglo-type mass organization.

The growing feature of the Mexican-American community is the desire to take part in and influence the major people's organizations of our country. This is true in those trade unions where they are organized. There is a growing core of leadership developing in those unions. Politically, the community is almost all Democratic with the exception of certain counties in New Mexico where political affiliations tend to be more of a traditional family tie. The community, although it is as high as 95 per cent Democratic, does not have the Party prejudice and the insoluble ties to be found in other communities. Perhaps this is because of its relatively new political newness. — for instance, produced some of the largest demonstrations ever seen in the Mexican community of Los Angeles. Even

NY 100-4931

though Democratic, the Mexican community is still largely inactive politically, over half of those eligible to vote are not registered and participation in Democratic clubs is limited to a small organized element.

Perhaps this is because the history of the Mexican people is a revolutionary one and not a solid or parliamentary history. In those parts of the Southwest, where the Mine Mill Union has fought for representation in political activity, it is found that there are Mexican-Americans on city councils and other governmental bodies.

On education. The economics of the community, the language and the cultural differences and the lack of a special approach by the educational systems have contributed to make the Mexican-American community one of the most poorly educated groups in the country. The 1950 census reports that whereas the overall median number of school years is 12.1, it is only eight years for the Mexican people in the urban areas and four years in the rural areas.

A recent survey showed that the schools start Mexican children who in the majority of cases know no English with a curriculum in English. We should demand of the school systems a bilingual education to overcome this unequal status of the Mexican-American children. The survey also showed that the lack of understanding, counseling and assistance for adjustment for high school education resulted in a large number of students either being dropped or quitting school. We should demand adequate staffing of this counseling service by Mexican-American personnel to solve this problem and to force the schools to encourage more liberal arts, education for the Mexican-American youth.

The insidious American destiny theme that runs through the curriculum, the distorted version of the history

NY 100-4931

of our relationship with Mexico soon creates in the Mexican child a gnawing sense of inferiority. American history versions must be corrected to give the true picture of American imperialism and the valiant history of Mexico.

On Immigration. There is almost no Mexican family that does not have some sort of contact with immigration problems. Even those who have been here for generations are subject momentarily to be questioned by the Immigration Service and frisked, mind you, and if found without proper identification to be locked (up) until a friend or a relative can be contacted for identification.

Others know of neighbors, wives and husbands sent out of the country in the middle of the night and — — activity to bring them back. In 1954, for example, over a million people were given voluntary departure to Mexico. The figures have dropped since, but the insecurity and the harassment remains in the day to day life of the Mexican-American.

There is a growing resistance to this persecution. In Los Angeles, for example, the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born highlights the brutal treatment by the Immigration Department that has brought this problem to the attention of the world. The Community Service Organization conducts citizenship classes which have been instrumental in the growing fight against this constant harassment. There is the fight to repeal the Walter-Mc Carran Act and that should be emphasized.

On Migratory Work. The imperialistic exploitation of Mexico by the United States is so great that there are millions in Mexico who have never held a job. Those who do not have work have such incredibly low standards that it is really true that the bad conditions in the United States

NY 100-4931

are preferable to them. It is safe to say that as long as the economic pressure brought about by the disparity between the two countries continues, there will be an irresistible movement of workers to the United States. The — are contract workers who are bought yearly for seasonal work by the large growers in the United States. I would like to quote now a short paragraph by CHARLES ADAMS (ph) from "Forbidden Neighbors":

"In the case of the migrant Mexican, we have a unique kind of internal colonialism. The native worker works hard for pitiful wages, suffers the social inferiority of a native in the eyes of his master and the community and lives under the sub-human conditions so often characterized of native colonial life. The difference being the traditional and new colonial natives are kept with us within distance when we want them and then driven out of the community when they are no longer needed."

Our treatment of the — as one Catholic bishop put it — it is a crime that calls for vengeance. Housing conditions are intolerable in many areas. Cheating on wages, non-payment of wages are a common pattern. The American Trade Union movement for a long time has taken the attitude of fighting the entire program on the grounds that it was lowering their standards. But lately, more and more of the union leadership is beginning to realize that it must fight for better conditions of these workers and for solidarity with them and to organize them.

The struggle for higher standards is a key demand because we should never be put in the position of fighting a fellow working class and deriving a narrow nationalistic ground of his right to work.

On Representation. Another issue that goes hand in hand with the trend toward organization has come a strong and universal demand

NY 100-4931

for representation. Electoral victories in Texas are greeted by all sections of the community from the newly arrived immigrant to the resident of many generations from Texas to California. New Mexico has one Senator and one Congressman but the lack of representation in the Southwest is appalling. In California, for example, with over one million Mexican-Americans, they are not represented by even one elected official in the state or county government and not even by one legislator.

The drive for representation extends to every area of community life. The G. I. Forum is essentially a middle class organization, who felt called upon at its last convention to congratulate the International Union of Electrical Workers for having appointed a Mexican business agent.

The Labor Movement. The — of so many workers of Mexican-American, places a special problem before the Trade Union movement. Recent developments in the fight for F.E.P. (fair employment practices) and minimum wage laws in California emphasize this point, the special responsibility for an energetic campaign to organize the agricultural workers which is beginning to take roots. Every such movement including the building of a broad citizens' committee should be supported.

Of special importance to the Party is a drive to organize those unorganized industries with a high concentration of Mexican women. In order to make this a reality, the unions should recognize the special problems of these people. Concessions must be made on the question of language, the struggle on immigration problems, and a need for their cultural expression. There must also be a recognition of the growing demand for representation on all levels of union leadership. The most important legislation demand is the fight for the minimum law of \$1.50 an hour already put forth by the Labor Movement.

NY 100-4931

Other issues that unite this regional community are the need for real Fair Employment Practices, to end discrimination in housing and the need to create more opportunities for higher education through the support of scholarship funds and a demand for state scholarships and state facilities to meet the economic problem faced by the low income families in attaining higher education.

The Party. The general isolation of the Party is sharply demonstrated in our isolation from the Mexican-American people in the Southwest. Our Party has an important history in organizing and leading struggles of the Mexican-American people. To root the Party in the Southwest is to influence the largest national minority. The NC together with the Southern California District Committee should guarantee the following:

That they be responsible for the development of a Southwest Party region with its first task being the re-establishment of the Party in the Southwest and that the NC consider the assignment of an organizer for this purpose. That Illinois, Indiana and Northern California examine the activity of their respective Party organizations in respect to the considerable Mexican-American communities located within their areas. That the NC be responsible for specific organizational proposals designed to assist the political development of the Mexican-American cadre. Our Party must seek to initiate the development and the examination of the problem that will lead to the unity of the two largest and most oppressed national minorities, the Negro people and the Mexican-American people.

The fight for equality, the move to organize, the stability and working class character of these people means that with increased special attention the Mexican people can become a powerful ally in the people's coalition in the struggle for socialism.

NY 100-4931

Chairman HATHAWAY: The motion is to adopt the report of the committee. Motion adopted unanimously. The chairman is asked at this time, just before the press report, to recognize Comrade KETTY (ph) of Northern California on the Indian question.

KETTY JOHNSON: Comrade HATHAWAY is incorrect. I have two resolutions. They are both very short and very important. In order to implement GUS HALL's keynote speech through the country, there is no section of our country we can overlook, no matter how small and no matter if they are not represented here. To our District Convention in Northern California, a Japanese-American came asking for redress of a grievance 18 years old. I read the resolution:

Whereas our Party made serious errors in our work with the Japanese people in our country, specifically in its failure to oppose the relocation centers during World War II, be it resolved that this convention honor those Japanese comrades and friends who have steadfastly maintained their loyalty to our Party and to the progressive movement. That we make every effort to rebuild our ties and to rebuild our Party among the Japanese in our country with special attention to overcoming weaknesses of the past. I move the convention adopt this resolution.

Chairman HATHAWAY: Motion adopted.

KETTY JOHNSON: The second resolution was brought to us from Washington State. It is not written exactly the way they had it written, but I think they will concur, I hope.

Resolution on the Indian people: Whereas the
are an exploited and oppressed national minority, their Indian people

NY 100-4931

living standards are low, their cultural activities have been suppressed, this minority can be brought into a democratic part in the struggle for a new life in the United States. Whereas the American Indian has been the victim of the most brutal oppression characteristic of a policy of genocide and whereas the history of broken promises and scrapped treaties is a shameful part of our American history. Whereas the policy of Anglo-Saxon white chauvinism dominates the policies of the American Indian in all parts of the country and in government bureaus and our Party has only approached our responsibilities in this in a very limited and scattered manner. Therefore be it resolved that this entire question be put on the agenda of our Party's next tasks and take all necessary measures to participate in a broad movement to determine steps necessary to a solution and to a correction of our weaknesses in this field. I move this resolution be adopted.

Chairman HATHAWAY: Motion adopted. Now, comrades, we come to the report on the press and the chair understands that there are three reporters to be given ten minutes each. Comrade GEORGE (MEYERS?) of Maryland is the first reporter followed by Comrade (WILLIAM L.) PATTERSON and then by Comrade (JACK) STACHEL.

GEORGE (MEYERS): Our committee was made up of representation from Michigan, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland and Minnesota. We had a very stimulating exchange of opinions, experiences and ideas and I hope that in some way the very fine experiences of the comrades on the West Coast with the "Peoples World" can be brought into this convention.

We acted on a number of resolutions that were submitted and they will be incorporated in Comrade PAT's (PATTERSON) report following my remarks.

NY 100-4931

Comrades, I think our main job here at this convention is to strengthen the organization around "The Worker" and that is our primary concern rather than the content of the paper, although the comrades on the paper had a meeting recently in which they were self-critical. But I still think our main problem is content . . . but I would like to tell you a little about what content is meant to the work of the Party as far as "The Worker" is concerned. We have had a whole number of experiences presented from different parts of the country but I would like to tell you that in our district in Maryland which is a small district, highly industrialized, small Party, this paper has been invaluable in our work. I would like to pay special compliments to "The Worker" for the kind of stories they have been carrying on steel. I know just what that meant down there, you know with the vacuum that's been created in this period of tremendous attack against the unions and the inability of the union leaders to present the proper answer based on a class conscious approach. Where we had been able to get "The Worker" to workers including lower level trade union leaders, union officials, etc., the paper has been well (received?) . . .

There is a whole number of examples of just what is happening with the paper on its own. For instance an auto worker down there by accident started reading the paper. Well, after a while, he started to subscribe to it or at least to get it regularly. Because of the fine articles appearing there on the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, etc., a group of six auto workers having no connection whatsoever with the Party, got in a car and took a day off to come up to New York to see the Soviet exhibit.

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(1)

NY 100-4931

GEORGE (MEYERS) CONTINUED: Well, that is the way in which the question of Socialism can be very well raised among the workers. Another example, a different example, where "The Worker" was being sent to one of the unions there, more or less regularly, an auto union, and the union official would throw it away when he got it. Then he found a couple of things he was interested in and started reading it, leaving it around. Well, the point here is that this is a union in which there is a large number of Southern white workers and those articles on Henderson drew those workers in. They used to come into the union hall to read "The Worker", particularly to see what was happening at Henderson. They were very excited about it and demanded to know how come this did not appear in other papers. But in that same issue the paper (carried ?) the story of the horrible thing that happened in Mississippi around the killing of PARKER (MACK CHARLES PARKER). Here was the question of organizing the Southern Negro and White..... So I do not think content is our main concern here but organization.

There is many opportunities, Comrades, and the thing that is lacking is our ability to take advantage of that and I believe that the pressure of the membership and the desires of the leadership to move ahead is being reflected in this convention and we are going to take care of that.

I just want to say before PAT (PATTERSON) takes over, that the meaning of "The Worker" as far as our Party is concerned, is that it is not just an arm of the Party, it is the life blood of the Party. I do not think that without a strong press that our Party is going to be very anemic and with a strong press we will have a lot of good strong life blood gushing through us. It is going to be a definite help in rebuilding the Party and in helping the Party's work in the mass movement. I think that is the way we have got to look at our paper and we have got to build that press.

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NY 100-4931

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON: Comrades, I, for one, deeply regret that the pressure of work of this convention forces us to give so little time in discussing what I believe the most important question that has been brought before our convention. I want, in opening my remarks, to deal with the Draft Resolution on Party organization. I want to read first from the first paragraph, the Party is rallying in unity around policies for mass work, for peace, democracy and security. It is consolidating its ranks on the basis of universal - principles of Marxism - Leninism as applied to the specific conditions of American life. Comrades, I want to say firstly that this will not be done without building "The Worker." Secondly, Comrades, I want to come up to the (third ?) paragraph of that same resolution and I would rewrite it this way in relation to "The Worker": The (opportunities ?) and the possibilities growing from our correct line will come to naught unless we grasp one other essential, the need of the Party to build "The Worker" in every phase of its activities. To use "The Worker" in the unfolding of its mass policies, in fulfilling this task our Party could, in the conditions shaping up, almost overnight, become a large and influential force in our country.

That precisely, Comrades, is the manner in which the approach to the building of "The Worker" has to be regarded by this convention. Without building "The Worker", no things of the mass activities that our Party has historically outlined here in this convention, the building of the Party itself, will not be successful. I want to make just a number of concrete proposals in that regard..... We did not fulfill the quota we had nationally, a quota of \$75,000 for "The Worker", only \$65,000 was fulfilled. We are asking this convention to see that upon return to your respective communities, that the \$10,000 necessary to the completion of the quota of 1959 be sent in.

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(3)

NY 100-4931

We also request this convention to demand of the incoming National Committee to fix a drive for funds for "The Worker" in the first part of 1960, and we want to propose, dear Comrades, that this drive begin on the 36th Anniversary of "The Worker," January 13, and extend to May the 1st..... That may be \$75,000 or \$100,000. I fix no definite sum here but ask this convention to instruct the incoming National Committee to establish a small committee for the building of "The Worker", a committee of three. I want to say that in this respect, I would like to be presumptuous enough to name one figure on that committee. My feeling was that JACK STACHEL should have made this report in full. Without JACK STACHEL's work, not only in the editorial phases of "The Worker" but particularly in the management of "The Worker," we would not have a "Worker" today. Comrades, the manner in which he has developed activities in (strengthening ?) and building "The Worker" will be extremely helpful in the accomplishment of this task.

There are a number of concrete proposals that are coming before this convention in relation to "The Worker". We believe, Comrades, that at the present time, the favorable opportunities presented us will enable us to take "The Worker", which today has some 13, or 14,000 circulation, 4,000 of it outside of our own country, and raise this slight circulation without any difficulty up to 20, or 25,000. This means, however, that our Party as a whole must take this responsibility; that the responsibility must be fixed in every District, upon that District leadership, that every member of our Party must realize that in the development of the activities with which he is concerned, the use of "The Worker" is one of the most important steps for him.

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(4)

NY 100-4931

I want to just outline a couple of steps that came up before our committee. "The Worker" has had and always will have editorials dealing in the most effective manner, with the grave problems before our country. These editorials can form leaflets to be discriminatingly distributed among those forces of the working class, through sections of our people, the Negro people, the Mexican - Americans, Puerto Ricans and so forth, as a leaflet not only bringing to their attention "The Worker" and its value, but giving consciousness to the development of their work in American life. We must (hold ?), Comrades, that "The Worker" can be used in forums, in mass meetings and in every other respect.

"The Worker" becomes one of the main ideological weapons to counteract the poison of the metropolitan press, against socialism, against our Party and against peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union. As such, we should canvas every (main street ?), every community in which we live, to libraries, to schools and to professional groups. "The Worker" should be sent, perhaps first gratuitously and then followed up with letters asking the recipient how they regard this paper and asking them to send in a subscription for it.

There are a number of other (tasks ?), Comrades, that came before us or proposals that came before our committee. One was that the midwest, within the nearest future, by May 1st, have a midwest edition of "The Worker." With this our committee was in full and complete agreement. Undoubtedly, the midwest edition of "The Worker" will be a tremendous factor in galvanizing the (attention ?) and strengthening the appreciation of "The Worker" among the working class of the midwest.

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NY 100-4931

Another thing that came before our committee that must be given the utmost attention. Comrade (GEORGE) MEYERS in opening up said that the major question was one, a political and organizational question. Undoubtedly, the major question is an organizational one and there are several districts that came here that have already organized a - volunteer press builders. That is the Detroit district for one, and other districts have organized the friends of "The Worker"..... And in every district there must be - regardless of the size of the district - there must be a press director..... But around this press director we should conceive of two further steps in organization. One, the organization of an inner committee for the development of "The Worker" and "Worker" activities. Two, the organization of other committees which will promote and build "The Worker."

JACK STACHEL: Comrades, among the many honors and privileges that I have had in this Party, I think that the motion I am going to make now is the most important. The only other one of that nature that I would like to recall is in 1929, when I had the honor to move the change of our name, at that time, from Workers' Communist Party to Communist Party of the United States

Today I have the honor to move, to present a motion, to reconstitute our "Daily Worker" and to try to do it by 1960. I have my name on the list for some time but like other Comrades, I can say that it was not possible to speak. This is my first opportunity and for that reason I think I can do it within the (ten ?) minutes.

I want to make a couple of general remarks before reading the resolution and making a comment or two on it. First of all, I am (voicing ?) a unanimous opinion here. I say that this is not only a new (world that we have invested in ?), a new year in the struggle for peace in our own country, but this is the

HCO:gmm
(6)

NY 100-4931

beginning of a new year for our own Communist Party of the United States. This was already symbolized (not only ?) in the very excellent report of Comrade GUS HALL, but in the many speeches, discussions and documents that we have adopted.

This convention has already been made, by many Comrades in different ways, and I agree with all of them..... Certainly this convention, if it did nothing else, would have a great accomplishment for itself. Comrade BART (ph) (possibly PHIL BART), has already informed us that this convention should be known as the convention for the building of the Party. Certainly this convention will be known as the convention that.....to organize the most serious struggle on the central task confronting us, the fight for peace and co-existence, and every other task will add to it and must directly be coordinated with it and included in the 1960 crucial elections.....

This convention has already clarified many questions which has emerged in the course of the convention, questions which have been amplified, developed, modified by the membership, and I must say that in all of the thirty-seven years of my membership in the Communist Party, in this convention I have participated in more discussion than at any other time. I had about eight discussions of my talk. I attended as a delegate at the convention of my section, to the splendid convention of our Party in Manhattan County, in New York State and now the National Convention. With every convention the issues become clearer, the Party becomes more united, and this is a great promise toward our future work.

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NY 100-4931

I think also Comrades, that four questions have emerged, central questions which will need further clarification. Among them surely is the question of the anti-monopoly coalition. It is clear, many views and many ideas I could associate myself to, for example, that the view of the Comrade from (Ohio ?).....as most clearly expressing my own views.

I also believe that this question will occupy a lot of attention in the coming period. In all these questions, including emphasis on the part for peace, I would say that the observations of MAO TSE TUNG (ph) would be very valuable to us. He has observed that in dealing with questions of strategy, to overestimate the strength of your enemy, leads to opportunism, and we have a lot to learn from that. Comrade GUS HALL has emphasized the significance of the new phase..... You will have to recognize the ascendancy of the socialist world against the - colonial struggle. Also, the struggles of the working people, including the people of our country..... that to overestimate the power of the enemy would lead to rank opportunism. Comrade MAO TSE TUNG (ph) also says, to underestimate your enemy in the matter of tactics leads to sectarianism.....

With these general comments, I want to read the resolution on the "Daily Worker." The Party crisis following the 16th Convention resulted in the loss of the "Daily Worker." This brought to (an end ?) thirty-four years of uninterrupted publication..... The present - conditions in the struggle for peace, civil rights, economic security and civil liberties greatly improved conditions of our Party and makes it an urgent necessity in (realizing ?) the goal. The 17th Convention, therefore, authorizes the incoming National Committee and the Executive Committee and officers to discuss with the publishers, management and editorial board "The Worker", and other interested groups and individuals, in the building of the "Daily Worker" in the shortest possible time. It expresses the hope that this goal, you must try to exceed before the 1960 (elections ?), in time to play a role.....

NY 100-4931

The convention instructs the incoming National Committee to designate a special committee charged with this responsibility, working along this direction. The convention further decided that it afford on the prospects and plans after.....of all sections, to all members of the incoming National Committee and to the State organizations, ninety days after the adjournment of the convention..... I think that we must not set our sight low either. I anticipate some Comrades who will say, well, we all agreed we need it, but we do not have to discuss that..... I just want to say on this the following. We believe, those of us that are close to the situation, that those difficulties without being able to meet even the weekly bill..... We are not unaware of that.....but we believe the difficulties can be overcome. We believe the problems involved can be overcome, but this does not mean it will be an easy task. This means that it will be a task which will require great sacrifices. One of the things which will show whether we are able to start or not will be how we accept and carry out the proposals for the drive for 20,000 readers, as well as the fund drive which will be initiated.....

But Comrades, let us recall this, while the "Daily Worker" plan was launched in 1922, and realized in January, 1924, sure our Party was a little larger than now, it had 12,000 members..... If we take seriously what we discuss in our documents, in the report of Comrade HALL.....we could realize this objective, a birth of the "Daily Worker" long before the Eighteenth Convention. We must strive that it shall be realized in time to play a role in the crucial 1960 elections.

NY 100-4931

CHAIRMAN: Comrades, the question is on the adoption of the committee (report ?) and the resolutions they submit. All of those in favor signify by raising your cards. Opposed. Unanimous. Now Comrade GUS HALL.

GUS HALL: I think that we will all agree that amongst all the messages from our brother Parties, that historically the messages and greetings that have played a big part in our life are the greetings and messages from the French Party (laughter). Therefore, I want to read the present message to this convention from the French Party. To the National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, from the Communist Party of France. Dear Comrades: The Cultural Committee of the French Communist Party in the name of the Communists and the democratic forces of France warmly greet the Seventeenth Convention of the Communist Party of the USA, and hope for its success in the working for the betterment of conditions of the American working class and the peace of the world. The new situation has brought into the world, first of all, by the policies of peace and success in the struggle for peace of the Soviet Union, the camp of socialism and then by the irresistible strength of the peace forces of the world, among whom the friends of peace in the United States who have taken their place despite the most difficult conditions of the struggle. A call of Comrade KHRUSHCHEV for peaceful co-existence and the peaceful cooperation of all States, his proposal for a complete disarmament through the armies of the major States and the destruction of atomic arms, have touched and have stimulated the spirits and the hearts of hundreds of millions of men, women and young people over the world, as well as in the United States.

NY 100-4931

Comrade NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's trip to the United States, his discussions with President EISENHOWER, have had a profound and lasting influence on the opinion of (Central) American people, more so than on the attitude of important men of politics and business in America and other countries.

General DE GAULLE himself has invited Comrade KHRUSHCHEV to France. Our French Party must operate under the difficult conditions of DE GAULLE's personal power but it is more and more being followed by the masses. We struggle for a peaceful solution and negotiation for the war in Algeria; we struggle for the liquidation of the cold war; peaceful co-existence and disarmament. For the abandonment of the project to test an atom bomb in the Sahara.

We struggle at the same time for the restoration and revitalization of democracy and for the satisfaction of popular demands through the united struggles of labor.

Dear Comrades, the Communist Party, USA is the only organization of the proletariat that can - to the people an exalted objective which will unite the people to struggle with confidence. The magnificent success of the USSR reveals the great superiority of the socialist system which the capitalists and their lackeys can no longer oppose, is the greatest assurance of peace. This policy of peace is supplemented by the united action of the people, will destroy the leading defenders of the cold war.

NY 100-4931

The Communist Party, USA, has shown in the course of the last two years beyond doubt that it was able to resist all assaults and (vanquished ?) enemies of Marxism - Leninism in their own ranks. The Communist Party, USA, has also remained faithful to the principles of Marxism and Leninism after the fighting spirit of a Party based on the uncompromising defense and the interest of labor and all the people. That is why, dear Comrades, we are certain that the work of your convention will mark a new victorious phase of the glorious struggle of the Communists of the United States. Long live the 17th Convention of the CP, USA. Long live peace. Long live Communism. For the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France. JACQUES DUCLOS.
(Applause).

Now I want to make the proposals as far as the Presiding and Nominating Committee on the election of the National Committee. But I want to say a couple of words in the approach on this question. I think that possibly after we review this convention, that we will conclude that one of the basic reasons for its success was the decision of the leadership some time ago that our Party is not in a position to make all corrections at the convention that are necessary - that, however, this convention will be a big step in the process of rebuilding our Party.

I think that it is this approach that has given this convention a certain outlook and a certain way of handling many difficulties we face. That there are many things that we will ultimately make decisions on including such problems as more basically reviewing the work of the Party for the past two years. I want to say that even this kind of a decision we make based on the fact that we are not ready for it. We will have to do it some day, but in this stage of the process of rebuilding this Party, we are not ready for it and, therefore, we did not propose it any further than we did in the introduction.

NY 100-4931

I am saying this now because in the election of the leadership and the method of nominations, the size of the National Committee, all have to be fitted into this type of a problem. That is that we have come a long way in unifying the Party and I think we will all agree that the way it looks, this convention will be a further step in this process of re-unification and mobilization of the Party. But, when seeing that, we must know that there are still many problems - that it is not completed - it is a process and there are many leftovers of the past period that we still must take note of and consideration of with our proposal.

I am saying this not only for myself, I am saying it for the leadership and for the Presiding Nominating Committee in whose name I will make these proposals. In other words, generally there is a feeling - that the size of the National Committee could be smaller. But because of the leftovers of the past period, the lack of full confidence in the leadership of the Party, and this was expressed in State conventions, in resolutions, in most of the major conventions, a certain lack of giving a full power that really should belong to a convention in the sense of the democratic centralist type of organization.

But, as I said, this still exists, so in order to overcome some of these feelings that still exist in our Party, we are proposing a larger National Committee..... The same thing applies even to the methods of election and nomination. In other words, this is the process and of course the new constitution will, I am sure, go further into this question. Secondly, we have the problem that the referendum lifted a clause in the constitution of this question and, therefore, the committee has to come forward now and make proposals for nominations and elections of a National Committee for this specific convention.

NY 100-4931

Then the Constitution Committee will come forward on its constitution on a more permanent constitutional basis for the future convention. So these proposals are strictly for the election of the leadership in this convention.

Number one, that the size of the committee should be approximately 50..... That is the proposal - 50. I said approximately, in the end if we have to put one or two.....of course I am sure we could be flexible. They should generally be divided.....and I'll discuss it later. Thirty-Five directly from the State organizations, or nominations from the States, and fifteen will go into an overall - what is that name - enlarged - yes, that is the word, enlarged. I kept talking about a (pool ?) and the Comrades objected. I just could not think of the other name. I do not know, there does not seem to be anything derogatory about pool. So here are the concrete proposals.

That some time this afternoon or this evening, if possible, the district caucuses should meet and the district or State caucuses should make nominations for a National Committee in two separate categories. That is, the so called at large category of leadership. I think that I should stop here momentarily - of what the purpose of this at large will be. Well, I would say it includes two problems that must be taken into consideration. Number one, it includes the Comrades who are in the National (Staff ?) and have been working in the National (Staff ?) up until now. And secondly, it must provide for a certain balance in the composition of the National Committee. In other words, balance, in the sense of composition of Negro Comrades..... In other words, it will have such an overall at large category to take care of this thing. So - the caucuses - should nominate two categories, number one into the at large and secondly, for the

NY 100-4931

State or district. This will become clearer as I go along. So, the first category is at large and the second category is for the district members of the National Committee, or at least the nominations of the districts for the National Committee. And it is the - that in making these nominations, that the delegates should elect them according to preference, in other words, from one on down. Following these nominations by the caucuses, these will be brought back into the Nominating Committee or the Joint Committee that we have elected for that purpose. We will study it in the sense of composition and balance and so on. The committee will make additional nominations, if necessary. Then, this report or this list from the Nominating Committee will be brought into the convention.

It will be read and opened up for additional nominations, so there will be full opportunity for district delegates to make nominations and for the Nominating Committee to look at it from the sense of balance and make nominations and then additional ... nominations from the convention itself. Now let me say, so that is the so called method. That then will be put up on the ballot and the ballot will look something like the following. It will have the at large category, and if it is agreed fifteen votes for that category, it will most likely have more listed but vote for fifteen. Then it will have each State and there will be a box for each state delegation.

In other words, for example, we will say Ohio, and after I give these proposals..... All these states, thirty-five will be divided and the Ohio delegates have the right to elect two members of the National Committee..... The whole convention votes on the whole National Committee.

NY 100-4931

Now I would like to give you the figures so that each State will know approximately how much:

New York State	Eight
Southern California	Three
Northern California	Three
Illinois	Four
Michigan	Two
Ohio	Two
New England	One
Eastern Pennsylvania	One
New Jersey	One
Maryland	Two
Wisconsin	One
Indiana	One
Minnesota	One
South	Two
Oregon	One
State of Washington	One
Kansas - Missouri	One
Total	Thirty-five

In other words, that is how the committee members will be distributed and we will open it with the New York delegates. Just as an example, the New York delegation will go ahead and nominate in the overall category as many as they want. Not nominating for a minimum of eight but for as many as they want for their State delegation. All these names will be listed on the box for New York, vote for eight as well as all the other State delegations and the whole convention will vote on such a ticket.

NY 100-4931

Now actually there are many weaknesses to this, but I think that if (we ?) turn it over to the Nominating Committee, and I must say we had a lot of discussion on this.....I think we will elect a leadership that can lead this Party. Finally, according to the present constitution, this convention must decide whether to give the permission for the right of the National Committee to elect its officers. The presiding Nominating Committee so recommends and moves that this convention will give the incoming National Committee the power to elect its own officers. I think it is clear why this should be done. In other words, the officers will be responsible to the National Committee. The National Committee can elect them, the National Committee can remove them..... So that much for the nominations and elections.

I only have one additional thing. (Informant noted that HALL was interrupted from the floor and asked:)

Unknown Male: How about at large?

HALL: Oh, yes, what's that?

Unknown Male: That it is - to nominate at large.

HALL: Just nominate as many as you like, that's it!

Unknown Male: Another question. How about the present provisions for the Communists who are still in jail? Are they in this category?

HALL: No, No, No. We discussed this and decided that we will handle it like it was handled before. When these Comrades are available to the National Committee at that time we'll have the right to include them.

NY 100-4931

Unknown Male: I would like to propose that the balloting be held separately on the 15 at large and after that balloting is completed then the balloting on the rest. Because there may be some delegates nominated for the committee at large who may not be elected and then it may be the desire of some district to place them in nomination on a different slate.

HALL: I would say that when the Nominating Committee brings back the slate and looks it over on the question of balance, at that time this will be taken care of..... I don't think it should be separate.

Now just let me say about the National Committee, a few words because we have had some discussion on this question and it caught up on the question of.....

As you probably know, the present National Committee looks a bit thick, but what we are repeating I would say is around 40 because there were some (deceptions) from the committee that you Comrades elected (laughter). So the committee has actually been around that size. Comrades should know that it costs on the average of \$4,000 per meeting to convene the National Committee. Well, that is a lot of money and we also take that into consideration. Those proposals hint that the National Committee will become a different type of a political party in our work, and will really revert to the role of a national leadership that the National Committee should be.

NY 100-4931

In other words, a basic policy making organ for the Party. Therefore, I propose the slate that the National Committee will most likely meet twice a year. It will meet in.....for a week when it will go into all the basic - in a basic sense and set the policy of the Party over a six month period. There is a feeling that things do not move fast enough, that if you meet more often than six months, it steps up the course you are to follow.

Then I propose that we have a National Executive Committee that is a little larger than the present one some place in the field of 14 or 15, but leave it up to the National Committee. The National Committee will elect the National Executive Committee, a committee that will meet every six weeks or in that particular area. Thirdly, that the National Committee will also set up a secretariat of five that would be the operating, direct daily leadership of our Party in order to guarantee that we would not be floundering and guessing as to what is the daily type of leadership. In other words, that is the type of a leadership setup that we propose and I say again that we should keep in mind..... that I think our Party will do.....when it moves to a higher plane. It is our feeling that it does meet the present stage of the molding and rebuilding of our Party in the best possible fashion. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Presiding and Nominating Committee. Is there a second to the motion? (Seconded from floor).
Questions?

Unknown Male from floor: Who will nominate?

NY 100-4931

CHAIRMAN: It will be nominated by the delegates, in your delegation meeting. Are we ready to vote?

Unknown Male from floor: I know that this.....is not the only area.....but I noticed that in a talk about the regions there is no representative..... Is any consideration being given to improving that situation there?

HALL: I would say that there are a number. We have some Party organizations that we are not proposing to have a National Committee member from. This is including Pittsburgh, Rocky Mountains, Denver area, Connecticut, Utah, in other words, there are places where we have some Party organizations but it is the feeling that they are not cohesive enough. They are not on the level yet that they should get a member. I might say that in everyone of these areas, there are things moving, and like I mentioned at the Nominating Committee, that I feel absolutely confident that at the next convention that Pittsburgh, for instance, although they are having no member on the National Committee, they will be in a position to demand three.

NY 100-4931

UNMALE FROM FLOOR: Comrade GUS HALL. In the report the proposal for increasing the functions of the members of the National Committee was not mentioned. Is that the thinking of the committee?

GUS HALL: Yes, that pertains to the work of the National Committee on the basis that I explained. There is a proposal coming in that we will have regional type of organization and the National Committee members, in the particular region, plus other leading comrades, will meet in between and function on a regional basis.

UNMALE FROM FLOOR: Comrades, I would like to speak very briefly and make an amendment to the report. I had assumed that the scale of representation is based on membership with special consideration for the industrial state, which was done at the Sixteenth Convention. I am sure there might be discussion about this in the presiding committee before this is reported. However, I think there are imbalances. Unfortunately, we have had no report on membership here to the convention as to specific districts, but judging by the delegations here I think we could pretty accurately gauge the membership. Now on that basis a couple of comments.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: First make your motion, comrade.

UNMALE: All right, I will make the motion, an amendment. I think the 35 is too large. I think the idea of cutting it down further is good. A committee of 50 is still excessive. I therefore move that we reduce the representation of the states or districts, the -- representation from 35 to 30 and that we do it as follows: That we reduce Maryland from 2 to 1; that we reduce Illinois from 4 to 3; that we eliminate the member from Oregon; that we cut New York from 8 to 7; that we cut Northern California from 3 to 2....

On the last National Committee Oregon had representation but (for ?) the past year and one half their National Committee member never attended the meetings. We were told that it was that they just could not afford it. Now realistically I have heard nothing that indicates a change in the situation and I think, therefore, it is impractical to give them a member if they cannot attend and cannot participate.

NY 100-4931

Secondly, on Maryland. I do not know what the Maryland membership is, but I believe from what I have been told in the past and what I have seen here of its delegation, that it is no larger than quite a number of other districts which have been given one delegate, including for instance, Washington and Minnesota.

I am sure if we examine the list of membership and how many delegates the different districts were eligible to send here, we will find that Southern California is the second largest district in the country. For that reason, I do not quite see why they should not be at least on a par with others and (should?) insist on having the second largest representation on the committee. Now I do not know what the membership of Northern California is but I will.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: I do not think, comrade, that we have to drag this out. I think you have made your point.

UNMALE: Alright. I have made my point. I have made my message.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: Is there a second to the amendment. Seconded. All right. Mr. chairman of the committees.

GUS HALL: Now let me first say that the reason I take the floor on that point is on the question of Maryland. Some other districts for the south said they would like to suggest that we have Maryland, one and add one more to the south which has so many states involved, but they only have two. I would like to suggest on these minor shifts you let the committee ... , but on the main question, let me tell you something. I myself was of the opinion originally that it should be a smaller size. When you start working in all the details into it ... it becomes a very direct problem. There are many problems that do not show up on the face of things and have to be taken into consideration.

Now I will state further on some of these districts. It is true they are small, but it so happens that it is the weakness of our party that so many of these small districts are basic, industrial, heavy industrial districts. In some way, we have to preserve that. Now I might say further that there is another protest from the New York Steering Committee ... has already lodged a protest that they want to increase theirs from eight. So that there really are a lot of problems and I

NY 100-4931

would say that if the happy medium, and I think that the type of medium that will be workable is (nine?). I would urge that we accept the proposal as submitted.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: The question is on the adoption of the amendment. All those in favor raise their cards. All those opposed to the amendment raise your cards. The amendment is defeated and the question is now on the report of the committee.

UNMALE FROM FLOOR: We are considering an amendment. Would it be possible to amend the report in the following way in the proposal for apportionment so as the states .. not cut down in the organization, but would it be possible to reduce the at large from 15 to 10 and leave the table of organization as is. It would still make it possible for the states to retain their representation as presented here ...

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: I think comrade HALL, has already answered that question in his explanation. The question is on the report of the committee.

UNMALE: I would like to know how the committee determines the delegation based upon membership. Did they take into consideration the membership of the area and use a membership giving them the right to representation on this or was it primarily around the industrial question?

GUS HALL: No. We take into consideration many questions. For instance I would say that possibly, take Southern California or California put together, that actually .. if you put it strictly on membership basis would deserve one or even two. I would take one additional comrade. But here we took into consideration the limited size of the committee, and there is only so many and secondly the distance that would have to be traveled, the distance to New York City. There were a whole number of reasons that we took into consideration.

CHAIRMAN HATHAWAY: All right lets vote. All those in favor of the committee report and the proposals will signify by raising your cards. All those opposed. It seems to be, I beg your pardon, one opposed. Now are there any abstentions?

NY 100-4931

-- eight abstentions. Now before we adjourn there are several announcements. First the Peace Committee will meet immediately upon adjournment --. Secondly, the Committee on National Groups will meet up here immediately on adjournment. If there are no other announcements I will adjourn until 3:00 p.m.

This session adjourned for lunch at 1:55 p.m.

Afternoon Session
December 12, 1959

T -1 advised that this session convened at 3:27 p.m.

ARCHIE BROWN: We are proposing that comrade GERALDYNE (LIGHTFOOT) from Chicago be the chairwoman for this afternoons session.

CHAIRWOMAN LIGHTFOOT: The first speaker will be

GUS HALL: I would ask permission from the convention for the Constitution Committee to be excused from this session. The Constitution Committee is going to take up constitutional questions -- . Constitutional questions are involved and the presiding committee suggested that the Constitutional Committee meet with a sub-committee of the presiding committee. So will all members of the Constitution Committee please proceed to the back room.

CHAIRWOMAN LIGHTFOOT: Could we have a little order now. The next speaker will be BILL ALBERTSON who will give a report for the youth group.

BILL ALBERTSON: Comrades as you can see I am not reporting for the Youth Committee. I am reporting for the Committee on Youth Affairs. Our committee has in its deliberations produced what I believe can be considered really a collective document. I guess the proof of that is the fact that nobody got everything he wanted into it but everybody got something of what they wanted into the document. We have before us some 18 resolutions on the youth question coming from state conventions and other party organs. The work of the committee in selecting and bringing together the best of the state resolutions and formulating them

NY 100-4931

into a party policy on youth work. I would like to report .. it is coming forward with such a policy unanimously to this convention. Whether you call this a resolution, or a report, or a document, or a thesis, the Committee on Youth Affairs would like some serious discussion on the question, especially after so many years of our party's neglect, to approve the line in this argument and as much of it as the convention sees fit.

We are not making a report on the party's work among youth nor in its present status. The document itself will reflect the stage at which the party is in its youth activities. The weaknesses within the document are the weaknesses in youth activity and youth work generally. It is I believe, a reflection of where the party stands in its youth work at the present stage. The resolution or document (follows?): As the (learned?) people enter a decade of sharp struggle for peace, democracy and security, American youth are showing powerful beginnings of a new upsurge. Coming out of the period in which they felt the greatest impact of Mc Carthyism and the cold war, in which the drives of conformity and the fear of speaking out weaken and in some cases destroyed their organizations and prevented the development of an experienced leadership.

They entered the new period with a march of 26,000 on Washington to demand immediate school intergration, with a delegation of 400 to the Vienna Youth Festival, with widespread sentiment and organization among them for peace, against compulsory R.O.T.C., for exchange with the socialist countries, against loyalty oaths, for Federal scholarships. Every section of the country can point to signs of the upsurge.

One area reports its local young democrats -- breaking with their long dominating (path?) of leadership and entering the struggle for a progressive platform. Another reports youth participation in the (play?) against right to work laws. In many others, the youth march still marches forward with teenage organizations of Negroes and whites continuing to ... forms which represent the most widespread youth activities. Action of support for strikers and food collections have taken place and the youth are coming to socialism and to our party.

NY 100-4931

The Sputnik and the socialist peace initiative had a profound effect on the youth reared on a diet of cold war and Soviet hate. The youth membership of our party is growing faster than any other section, multiplying in some areas ten fold in the past two years. Our party, feeling ^{the} need to advance the democratic movement of youth have with the rest of the party begun the process of breaking out of isolation and to point with pride to accomplishments in the youth march and in other struggles.

Groups of youth interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teenagers and other youth. But this new upsurge is still evident unevenly in a great variety of forms, on a variety of issues, and in a variety of geographical areas. The task before us is to help to bring about national movements around specific issues. Today's youth had to -- deprived of organizational experience, lean heavily on (panel?) support which was not always forthcoming especially where it is most needed. Youth particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American are -- from two to four important formative years lost in the draft, insecurity and the lowest pay with limited chances for advancement on the job and lack of social, recreational and athletic facilities. ~~They~~ (tempted?) youth from solving their problems. They had an educational system characterized by overcrowded public schools, incapacitated by segregation, north and south, trade schools which cost much but teach little. Denied of some of the best teachers by witch-hunts and offering curriculum designed to produce an anti-union, anti-Communist and Chauvinistic population.

Monopoly's answer to the problem and challenge of youth is bend them to its own task. It shows youth a (world?) of moral restitution, brutal culture and a future of dog eat dog and nation eat nation. When some youth respond to this as so called juvenile delinquents, monopoly answers with an iron hand for them and all other youth with simple police brutality for the working class and minority young people. The greatest responsibility for answering the monopolies lies with the trade unions. The steel workers have issued a pamphlet on trade unionism for high school students. Some locals opened their facilities to their sons and daughters and -- in education and trade unity. Many locals and some internationals supported the

NY 100-4931

youth march, but on the whole there is a lack of trade union initiative on the youth question. Increasingly adult community organizations are working for a bright future for their children. Parent-Teacher Associations and other school funds are providing adequate school facilities and teacher's salaries. Community groups strive and provide more recreation. Larger numbers of adults undertake to sponsor teenage socials and sports. Some have tried to provide after school jobs and job training facilities. Some act on juvenile delinquency in what amounted to be a very effective manner. The reports from the trade unions and adult community organizations for the winning of youth, for democracy and peace and away from monopolies necessitates the envelopment of the party as a whole on the youth question.

NY 100-4931

BILL ALBERTSON CONTINUED: Comrades still stained by their teens — is a question for the young comrades. The problems and outlook of today's youth will automatically leave them after their 30th birthday but will leave their mark for their entire life. The significant gains of the Party in youth membership and influence helps guarantee our Party's growth. It is true that youth represents the future of the Party and the Party is the bearer of the future for American youth. The Party is the vanguard of the working class and therefore of its youth as well as the working class also. It should not and does not relegate this vanguard role to any other group or organization. To do so would mean to set more than one (center?) of Communist leadership, more than one Communist Party.

The work among youth is the work of the future. The present generation of youth led by the working class is the guarantee for success in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. They are also our Party of the immediate future. Without full attention to their needs and development, the Party jeopardizes its own existence . . . Youth work shall be placed next to labor and the Negro people's movement as our major area of mass work.

First attention must be paid to the existing mass movements and organizations helping to build them based on their own programs and winning them for united action for peace, integration, support for labor and political action. Special attention should be paid to bringing the question of peace to (fulcrum?) especially to the working class people and should be extended to those youth setting up local youth councils for peace, friendship and exchange.

Many more adults can be involved in youth work and organization such as parents, anti-delinquency committees, youth service, settlement houses, etc. These are also important areas of mass youth work. Consideration of their

NY 100-4931

own youth problems must become the concern of all people's organizations and major among such organizations are the trade unions. Organizations by units of their sons and daughters would be of inestimable value to both the youth and the labor movement. The solution of the special problem of working and unemployed youth have become a major concern of the trade unions themselves. All possible encouragement and aid should be extended on a local basis as well as on a national scale to the Party and non-Party youth in their efforts to set up Marxist youth organizations

Encouragement and aid should be extended to students organizing Marxist — clubs and other club groups — . The building and development of teenage groups and clubs of all kinds should be encouraged. The education and youth divisions should prepare a special educational program containing a party — — to include amongst others — — full-time and other types of schools, material for classes, discussion groups and self-studies, etc.

The — — ideological campaign throughout the whole Party. Beginning on March 1 and ending on May 6 on the youth question — —, the purpose of this campaign is to develop our understanding of this question and to — — the whole Party membership for it to be used in all areas of activity. The material for this campaign shall be issued by the Education and Youth Committee. The Party can find both the opportunity — — for speaking directly to non-Party youth on issues of the day and on socialism. Forums, debates, leaflets, meetings, etc. should be encouraged to the fullest degree. State commissions are urged to — — in every level of Party leadership in all divisions and committees.

The incoming NC within a period of no more than 30 days after the adjournment of this convention shall appoint a full-time director of youth affairs and establish a functioning national commission on youth affairs composed of youth and adult members. We urge that at a discreet

NY 100-4931

period of time those state committees which have not done so shall establish a political and organizational responsibility for youth affairs. The NC among other things shall issue a regular national — youth bulletin for a Marxist youth organization.

A Marxist youth organization is essential to the development of a mature American youth movement. — — help — — democratic youth groupings and movements in the direction of support to and alliance with the labor and Negro people's liberation movement. It must contribute to the task of helping to unite the present generation of youth against monopoly. It — — tens of thousands of young people to the cause of socialism. The conditions for the establishment of such an organization must include the existence of a substantial number of non-Party socialist minded youth who are ready to join with Party youth to set up such an organization.

It is desirable that as many of these — — be participating in the activities and struggles of existing youth movements and organizations. The formation of such a national organization today would be premature and therefore doomed to isolation since the conditions for the formation do not exist in a sufficient number of areas in our country.

We urge every state committee to develop this mass work through education and action and — — that the conditions for setting up local Marxist youth organization will emerge as rapidly as possible. Our work must — — that existing mass movements and organizations, our agitation for our Party youth program and our educational facilities amongst youth will help guarantee such a victory. We look forward to the emerging of a national organizationally independent socialist organization of youth which is dedicated to participation in the every day struggles for the immediate demand and needs of youth which consistently conduct agitation and education for socialism amongst youth and educate — — membership in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

NY 100-4931

Such an organization — the growing — — will have to give serious consideration in policy and organization to the interests and other differences existing between working and — — youth, student youths and teenagers. Through its educational, cultural, sports, social and political activity it should be made as attractive as possible to all young people, from those who agree to all of its principles and activities to those who want just the — — of socialism or just to participate in one of its various activities. It should be sufficiently flexible to include all except conscious anti-Communist racist and the dead end set.

The struggle for the needs, desire and aspirations of American youth is a struggle to which this convention dedicates our whole heart. Our participation in these struggles will help unite youth in alliance with labor and the Negro people against the enemy of all, monopoly capitalism. To enhance this struggle we present for the consideration of American youth the following youth program:

The right to learn, to become educated, free education and educational facilities from kindergarten to college, elimination of all forms of discrimination, including the quota system and guarantee full integration at all levels of education. Federal school financing to guarantee:

A. All necessary improvements in physical plans, facilities and staffs to eliminate inequality created by discrimination.

B. Expand into college of grants — funds, and part-time work projects free of all loyalty provisions.

C. Free night school from public schools to college for those unable to attend full-time institutions.

NY 100-4931

D. Decent wage standards for teachers.

E. Expanded vocational training to include needed work because of growing automation and a non-discriminatory job placement program.

F. The review of present curriculum textbooks, etc. together — provision of education for higher skills, an accurate picture of labor and minority groups — contribution to American life, education for socialism. Academic freedom, the elimination of all restrictions on the right of students to organize, to listen, to discuss, to debate, to evaluate, to conclude and to act, the restoration of all political rights to teachers where they have been curtailed so that they may again become full-fledged citizens.

A teacher whose citizenship rights have been curtailed by law or otherwise cannot teach others the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy. The right to a job —, a federal youth works program to provide on the job training and prevailing wage rates especially in the new skills demanded by modern — business.

Expansion of — training programs on the job. The right of Negroes and other minority groups to participate in on the job training programs and to have the same right to jobs, equal wages and trade union membership as other youths have. Unemployment insurance for students who leave school or other youths seeking jobs for the first time, adequate pensions and voluntary early retirement for adult workers to help create additional jobs for youth, the right to reasonable recreation and culture, a vastly expanded program of slum clearance and low rent housing developments in all communities on a fully integrated basis, opening of all present housing to Negroes and other minority groups, legislation that makes discrimination in private as well as public housing a crime.

NY 100-4931

All public schools, parks and other public institutions with recreational and athletic facilities to remain open after school hours and on weekends for use by young people on a non-discriminatory basis, and the establishment of such new centers. Youth participation in the administration of all after school recreational, athletic and social service center programs should be encouraged and developed, the addition to present teaching staffs of duly trained youth workers to work with these youths and the organization of present and future facilities. A people's educational campaign against the attempted utilization, demoralization and immoralization of American youth directed against the monopolists and all cultural media in the glorification of war, murder, crime, brutality and sexual perversion.

The opening of trade union halls, churches and facilities of all people's organizations for use of the sons and daughters of the members by the youth in the particular communities and the development of youth activity program by such organizations. Adult legal status, including the right to vote should be granted to all reaching their 18th birthday. All these rights in a world at peace. Abolition of the draft, of compulsory military training and service and of the ROTC, the ending of all atomic testing and complete disarmament.

All funds needed for the implementation of this whole program can easily come from a part of the present armament expenditure. The development of youth exchanges, students, workers, athletes, musicians, teachers, etc. between the United States and the socialist countries.

We suggest that this program will be incorporated in an American youth bill, . . . certain states might consider incorporating or adopting into a state youth bill in time for . . . youth in the 1960 election campaign. Now the chairman of the Committee on Youth Affairs moves the adoption of this report and resolution.

NY 100-4931

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: Motion seconded. The first in the discussion will be DANNY (ph) (possibly RUBIN) from Eastern Pennsylvania, followed by CHARLENE (possibly MITCHELL) from Southern California.

DANNY (RUBIN): Comrades, I think it is a very good resolution to help carry our work forward. I think that it places youth work against the great work of growing troubles of our country, growing movements in the sharpening class struggle situation. There is against that background an upsurge among youth. That upsurge is in its initial stages and the question of — for it will go but exactly what direction is not yet determined. There are forces on all sides trying to pull it in different directions. It seems to me that the key in determining that direction is the whole question of — — and labor coming into the battle in a big way.

I think the resolution singles out some of the following objectives in our work:

The building of democratic youth unity movements around a specific need of youth, taking into account the present level with respect to issues and organizations, guiding and direction and deepening this movement. . . basing itself on work among working class and teenagers and also taking into account the fact that today Negro teenagers are — — the democratic youth movement.

The second objective is to show in the process of the concrete struggle who the enemy of youth is, that it is monopoly and that youth has become even more a part of — — anti-monopoly coalition.

Another objective is in the problem of this country's struggle to try to show the youth that — — side of labor Another key point in it is that

NY 100-4931

— for youth perhaps more so than any other section of the people . . . the greatest motion is in the struggle for Negro rights, especially integration. We have a great job of contributing to further this movement . . . On that as a — speeding up the process of developing democratic youth movements, increasing the number of socialist youth in our country and the number of youth in our Party. The problem of helping in the aiding and building of such a youth organization (is to) be careful to avoid left and right errors. It seems to me that the left — error to make the youth organization into a vanguard and a substitute for the Party.

Secondly, to undertake a formation of the youth league on an actual basis with only Party . . rather than developing . . a sizable number of non-Party people. I think by doing that we want to avoid what seems to me a right error, that is conceiving of the youth league as something that will not come for a long long time . . .

Another big objective for our Party is in making contributions, placing the youth question in a positive way in a center of national attention and to develop all forms of constructive activity on the needs of youth. This of course means that in the first place to help guarantee (that) the labor movement plays a big role and struggle to improve the conditions of youth in determining the basic direction we are going. Now to do this it seems to me, our Party has to go forward on the question of everybody becoming involved. I know that if we stay there long enough, each special area of work . . someone comes forward and says, let's make this the work of the entire Party and then some comrades begin to feel my God we've got so many things to do it's very difficult. Only the problem there is that we ought to consider youth work as something to the — of our main objective and . . .

NY 100-4931

So we see many organizations fight for better goals, recreation, charities, etc. so that in our work along these lines we strengthen the main (course?) of our work . . . The parents in the trade unions will get into the area. I think the unions have to face the fact that when they are under heavy attack as they are today, it is very important to have youth on their side . . . I think we have a number of good examples in the country that we should fight in order to begin to expand. For instance, there are some areas . . . take up the question of apprenticeship training and pay close attention to the privileges in contracts and . . . training programs We also have examples of unions opening up their halls to their sons and daughters but there is too little of that. In all this, guarantee that our work actually goes forward. We have to make sure that we have a functioning youth commission and a functioning national youth director in order to give concrete leadership to these developments With that I think you will see a greater surge of democratic growth. (Applause).

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: CHARLENE (MITCHELL) followed by Comrade AL (possibly AURELIO ALDEZMA) of Southern California.

CHARLENE MITCHELL: Comrades, first of all I think that Comrade BILL (ALBERTSON) in his opening remarks really said what was true in this committee. I think generally it was a collective work. A number of comrades worked on every section and it went back into the committees and came back again Generally I think in coming out with this unanimous document which is quite a good document and they did a tremendous job. I think that one of the things that might be missing and it was necessary that it be missing but the people who speak, the young people generally stress some of these things which is the growing movements . . . in their areas.

NY 100-4931

For example in the resolution that we looked at from all over the areas and also from the Chicago Conference on Youth, we thought there was just tremendous things happening among the young people. Although we do not want to overestimate the things that are happening, I think it is very necessary for us to look at the growing things that are happening among the young people. The report I would say . . . links up youth with everything of American life, with the trade union movement, the struggle for peace, etc. and how all of these movements and struggles for the rights of the youth are linked together. In this sense I think that the Party must look at this youth report not as just another youth report . . . I hope we will feel the desire to speak when they get the floor on the question. For example a number of Communists are in mass organizations, trade union movements, women's organizations and the like. Now in the trade union movements I think it has been pointed out a number of times so I want to go into the women's organizations because here is a question in the minds of mass mothers. This is a question that is directly faced every day, the struggle for their youth, for their families . . . the struggle on all their demands for peace and their general rights.

Now on the last question . . . that is on the question of a youth organization. I want to agree with the way the report places it and with the way Comrade DAN (possibly RUBIN) placed it. That is we as a convention should welcome the emergence of a Marxist youth organization. I think that we have to be very aware that nationally we are not in a position to see the emergence at this particular moment of such a youth organization . . . I think it is going to be a very important fight then in the organization for the fight for young people. The young people like adults, even more so, are quite a bit inquisitive about changes in society, etc. These young people like to have more than just the fight of the immediate demands, which is

NY 100-4931

the very thing they must fight on now and this is going to be the thing that will establish the basis for a Marxist youth organization. . . .

AL (possibly AURELIO ALDEZMA): Comrades I do not like the position I have been placed in . . . so that what I am going to do is take you back to the discussions that have already taken place and have already been approved. I also asked for the floor this morning on the Mexican question so that is what I will deal with at this time. For the past 10 or 12 months in the Southern California district, the district has endeavored to promote discussion on the Mexican question The program has gone so far as to form a Mexican caucus and I might add that it was formed with a view in the future of giving it the status of a commission. All of this is fine.

I would like now to express my observations of the discussions that were conducted in the meeting which I had the privilege and opportunity to participate. First let me say that I present these views in addition to the resolution on the Mexican question. Some of these views have already been mentioned in the resolution and I would like to emphasize them here. Up until now we have discussed the Mexican question from the standpoint of the working class, its advances and relationships with organized labor which is the way it should be from a Mexican point of view. I agree with its approval, the resolution on the Mexican question deals with this aspect of the Mexican question. In discussing the resolution, we must take into consideration that this is the first real attempt to deal with the Mexican question in the past five years that I know of. At least it is to my knowledge, however, it may serve as a good one because it starts with the working class, their problems, their struggles to create a better world for themselves and their children after them.

On the question of the American Mexican community, there is one factor that we must study and understand if

NY 100-4931

we want to deal with the question of doing work in and on behalf of the Mexican-American people in the Southwest. I have no doubt that we as the Party are most interested when it is a matter that involves —. The facts that we as a Party should know includes all points and questions raised in the Mexican resolution. These are the points I would like to make, that we try to analyze the situation of the Mexican people. We must take into consideration the following question, the extent of political representation 15 years ago and what has been the gains even though meager as they are, nevertheless they are gains through struggle and I know the Party has played a role in these struggles. Consequently the economic advances made by the Mexican people in general, not only from the standpoint of wages, which of course has given the Mexican people some sort of — to the extent that many concerns now cater to Mexican trade.

Others have set up departments or branches to deal with the Mexican trade. I would like to say that in order to formulate a program to do work we must know the extent of this economic growth. This is also necessary to more accurately estimate the potential of the Mexican people in the struggles that lay ahead. I agree finally, the question of discrimination and police brutality and for that I only need to refer to you the petition sent to the United Nations by the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. There you will see the whole story of discrimination and brutality against the Mexican people and you will also find documented cases. In conclusion I would like to point out that in my opinion the following are the issues that the Mexican people feel most sharply and they are:

1. Political representation at all levels of government.
2. Opportunity of employment and all the related advances such as wages, etc.

NY 100-4931

3. Equal opportunity of education and I am sure that the Mexican people are willing to fight on these issues.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: There will be a change in the speakers.

CONNIE (LNU) from Brooklyn rather than MARK (ph) from New York followed by MINNIE (LNU) from New York.

CONNIE (LNU): I was very happy to hear the resolution that was presented . . . and what I have to say is more in relation to the New York Conference of Youth which took place last Saturday on the formation of a Marxist youth organization. I saw so many young people that I did not know existed. Young people, extremely capable people, who have big ideas, who are really able to fulfill the ideas they have about this organization. They want to organize large masses of working class youth within New York in a Marxist youth organization and I am sort of concerned about the examination of working class youth because I feel with very advanced thinking young people, they are not quite aware of the gap or the differences that exist in working class youth as opposed to student youth or people who have had more experience in the adult world of activity.

We sort of have to know what youth is, what it contains. It is a big job because it is not just a . . . freedom feeling or a question of the thinking period for young people. It just has a lot to do with the growing up, of how to be a person, physically developed and it is an accumulation of a lot of information It is not completely a formed thing. They are affected by what their parents are confronted with. They feel it. They react to it in a lot of different ways but they do not have the same relationship to the ruling class that the adult members in society have. Even young people who are starting to work at 14 or 15 and who contributed a lot of money to the family, they still don't have the same direct relationship to the ruling class. Therefore they always have the prospect of their own family

NY 100-4931

This class identification is true of middle class youth as well. It is still in its tender forming stage because here in university campuses and at middle class youth organizations you will find the middle class youth taking that — stand — and position in the interest of working class people. Still they are not living the sort of things these kids in my area, Bedford-Stuyvesant, really are confronted with and feel very deeply. You would think that these kids, if these kids are so advanced in their thinking, they should grow up to be some of the biggest and best leaders of the working class movement. However that does not always hold true, that is why I say this growing up, just learning how to be a person . . . emotionally growing up is a central factor in our approach as to how to organize the working class element. Working class youth as opposed to intellectual youth or middle class youth are not conditioned to organization even in their home, they do not have the same kind of orderliness that you find in the middle class environment. Orderliness that is a product of the condition that their family faces.

Young people in working class communities lack an awful lot of free time that their parents don't know anything about. They participate in many activities that the parents are not aware of. It is sort of an independent experimentation that they are either involved in some very unhealthy things or . . . they do not respond to organizing easily. They have a sort of a lack of interest but by the nature of their own class a reaction to organization and to leadership which has to do with just having authority These people are tremendous potential leaders . . . but they are not always recognized as such by the more advanced thinking youth because these kids are involved in activity that — have a lot of dreams that don't always coincide with their actual experience in life. Dreams on the part of young people are not on the same level as dreams of older people, not so abstract. Some of the dreams of youth are very much a part of their real character or a potential part of their real character. They have to be filled with (what) Marxist and the Party youth have to offer them in the way of organizing them.

NY 100-4931

I want to emphasize that when you start organizing things you must know and (lay?) a lot of emphasis at cultural and social exchange. Just the question of learning how to get along with other kids and how to get along with them on a real social basis. Here in New York especially where the majority of kids are Negro and Puerto Rican with working class youth, their social contact is very meager. Even the language difficulties, the sometimes superficial differences as far as customs and lots of superficial differences in tradition. I am sorry it was so long but I was so anxious to get in the working class youth who do not know and feel uncomfortable with very bright young people.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: MIMI (ph) from the Bronx will speak next.

MIMI (LNU): It is very obvious that I am not a youth, my closest connection is that of a mother and that of a county organizer, both of which are very close to my heart. Every report is a temptation to deal with it further but in order to cover something in seven minutes I will stick to my needs despite the very wonderful youth comrades who have been participating in this program. We have participated with them to help and we will participate further in carrying out the work they have proposed to this convention.

We of the Bronx would like to add our voice to the welcoming of the convention and the delegates to the city We hope that out of the work of this convention — at some place . . . that the next convention will be held outside of New York in one of the other cities. We will join you and visit you there.

Comrade GUS (HALL) in his opening speech of the convention spoke of one thing that struck him very strongly. That was that the Party is coming to an (even) keel between the left and right dangers following the 16th National Convention. The Party was held up by a tug of war between

NY 100-4931

the left sectarians and the revisionists on the right. Today the Party is standing up because the main body of the Party, the leadership and the membership rejected the negative and descriptive approach. Today we are sailing on an even keel based on our thinking, our work and our constant alertness to both dangers. It was a very strong point that Comrade GUS made. I would like to pay tribute on this very strong point to a comrade in the leadership who has given very strong thinking and leadership on this question, but who is not an orator but is one of the finest thinkers in our Party, Comrade GENE DENNIS, who cannot be with us today.

Out of this thinking one of our programs and one of our discussions here in every phase of our work, we will find that all roads can lead to political action.

I would like to give an example of the work in the Bronx. In February we will have a special election for a congressman in the Southeast section. This is not a slum home of the Negro, Puerto Rican or Jewish working class families This work developed a year ago about Christmas time. There was a line in front of Sears Roebuck, a line of the NAACP, the Puerto Ricans, the trade unionists, the Jewish, the whites and the Spanish speaking people. Under the leadership of the NAACP and the labor industry committee, supported by the churches and unions, last week, 35 merchants in the area agreed to the committee when it reviewed its — policy on Negro and Puerto Ricans coming in. These events also led these forces to participate in the youth marches, churches, youth organizations and adult organizations. All over the Bronx support was developed to support this move of enforcing the law of the Supreme Court. In the streets of the Southeast Bronx, we found they went out with petitions. There were open air meetings, they participated in the hospital strike, there were community activities to bring in food and help — on picket lines. They are working (on) open air meetings and they resurged (?) democratic groups fighting the machines. These

NY 100-4931

forces were gathered together even to force the Democratic Party to run a Negro congressman or run an independent line in behalf of Negro representation in the Bronx. These are the many forces coming together.

Our Party is organized and they will hold I would like to touch on one question whose committee I have worked with during the entire convention. There are a million hands ready to help us wipe out the old war. These hands we can see moving and working. For instance, a recent convention, a national council a Negro woman spent a session on citizens diplomacy and world peace. Ten million women are organized at church organizations. The National County Council of Women has a slogan - to further world understanding and to ease the world tensions and build a lasting peace. How can we afford to ignore these forces when we are planning our work for peace.

There are a hundred thousand women's hands working in shops, offices and homes, struggling for equal pay in jobs. They are ready to fight the same lousy bosses of trade unions, enlist their full force and ability in the coming class struggle. There are thousands and thousands of militant bearing hands of the Negro women, Puerto Rican women and American women. One last word. If you go out tomorrow with a special program and a special understanding, there are hundreds of Party women who are ready to give breadth to our Party with great sensitivity of leadership if we will only give special thought and attention to them.

This is a convention of new thinking, of planning of competent comradeship. The working class people of the (world) are rolling up their sleeves for a fight with monopoly for peace, security, equality and the future of youth. We are better equipped to (face) this fight.

NY 100-4931

DANNY (LNU): When Comrade BILL (ALBERTSON) mentioned to you that the work of the Committee on Youth Affairs had produced a collective document he did not mention that it also produced a collective lack of sleep. The report from the committee tried to point out what is new in the youth movement that is related to the problems we all face. I would like to ask something else that is new, particularly as it relates to our Party moving into the work of the youth question.... We can find organizations of youth activity on political issues... not only in the Negro communities but in the white communities as well. Youth organized in athletic groups, youth organized in special interest groups, like science groups, which have broadened their outlook due to the development of the Sputnik. We have a whole picture before us today of youth beginning to move in many different ways and around a variety of issues.

What do we see for instance in Chicago? Let me give you a couple of examples. The youth march, and simultaneous to the youth march, was (developed?) many small groups of teenagers around the city. About 20 of these groups called themselves together and formed the Chicago Youth Council on Human Relations, a representative group of these many organizations. We found for the first time in many years many of these groups are moving into the NAA Youth Councils. Some of these groups have yet to be organized and some are drifting toward adult organizations which are setting up youth divisions. One of these organizations in Chicago by examining the work of this organization are going out and looking where the youth were, in this particular case in industry, were able to evolve a perspective in an industry which we found had a pre-dominance of youth. We also found that in industry, the question was occurring (in?) the jobs...and one which was integrated to the problems of organizing that industry...

NY 100-4931

around the question of discrimination on jobs.

These two examples pointed out one thing which I think we should keep clear. Comrade (PHIL) BART pointed out . . . the (centrality (PH)) of the Negro question.... The main struggle around the fight for Civil Rights, which has developed in the past couple of years, has been the struggle for integration, a direct youth issue. Around this struggle we see the great heroism of Negro youths. Young married people today... start out when they are 16 years old and are coming into the major cities-up against the problem of segregated housing. For them, for the Negro youth and also the white youth, this is a big problem.

Many of these industries, as I have pointed out, have discriminatory policies in their hiring. We have in Chicago a situation where the biggest mail order house is in the center of a Negro community and yet only 3 per cent of the workers in that mail order house are Negro.

Now some points with respect to the Marxist youth organization. I do not know how I am going to do it in two minutes. The Marxist youth organization in the course of its struggle to bring this (youth) -forms of youth movements together to develop into some sort of a national organization is indispensable. I think that we should remember at all times and in our consideration of the line that is put forward in the document from the Committee on Youth Affairs that we must not make the mistake of dissipating our forces completely into the question of a Marxist youth organization. There is one formulation in the document which I think is still a little questionable and that is, I don't remember some of the wording but it is something like this, that all districts should organize the youth

NY 100-4931

into mass struggles (in order) to lay the basis for a Marxist youth organization. I think that this is placing the question in a one sided way. The reason we put our youth into mass struggles is to bring about a democratic youth movement around the important issues of the day and a - reinforcement for the anti-monopoly coalition that we want to bring about ourselves. The goal is not bringing about the Marxist youth organization, the Marxist youth organization is one of the ways by which we will achieve this goal. We should always keep this in mind.

Just one point on juvenile delinquency. I think that we should remember that the young people who we refer to as juvenile delinquents should not be counted out. These are good kids...that if we provide these people with places to go, with activities they can participate and they can organize, this will bring them in off the streets....

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: The time has come when we must take action on the youth resolution. There is a motion on the floor, can we take action on it now.

Unknown Male: As a member of the presiding committee, I am not going to oppose the request. I am going to say a couple of other things because it is going to come up in the future and the comrades ought to be thinking about it.

Unknown Female: it is the consensus of opinion of the delegation that the delegate from Michigan, the youth delegate, speak and then we will take action.

Unknown Male from Michigan: I think that in tying together our decision on the youth resolution that we recognize not only the general situation in

NY 100-4931

the world but also the task of the Party, that this is probably one of the most serious and one of the most momentous resolutions that has ever been passed in the Party. I would like to take my brief time in order to expand upon three things which could possibly prepare food for thought for all of us in implementing the work of this resolution and in assuring that there will be substantial results coming out of this convention....

First of all, the resolution starts out with the general characterization of the youth question today and I would like to expand on that briefly. First of all, I think that as far as the youth movement today is concerned, we are confronted with a situation of a tremendous flux of transition and of change. We look about us and we see young people of America today coming out of the 12 years...of the cold war, of Mc Carthyism, etc. We are confronted with a highly uncivil situation in the youth movement in our country and therefore, we are confronted with tremendous possibilities and opportunities in the field of youth work. We have for example on every single front, taking into account all the basic contradictions that exist in our society. The fact that young people are (faithfully?), haltingly and, in a most difficult manner, seeking solutions to what is the most basic necessity of a young generation, namely the development of an outlook, of a social identification.

Most important and the only logical work of the Party is the necessity of us recognizing that the fundamental objective in the youth field is to bring young people closer and closer into harmony with the progressive democratic objectives of the labor movement today. To get young people, all classes of young people towards the traditions, the outlook, past, present and future of the labor movement - in our society.

NY 100-4931

This is a tremendous job.... Secondly, in relation to that, you have a number of other fields... for example, the past 12 years has been characterized ... in this concept of the great middle class. That we are in a class society, that there is no such thing as a class struggle.... The most fundamental goal of the young people is the acquisition of the white collar Well, in view of that situation, imagine the impact that is going to develop and increase as monopoly in this country calls a halt to the relatively, and I use the term advisedly, tranquil relations that exist in the class (structure?).

The steel strike today, where the steelmen are saying... now we take the offensive. The coming oil negotiations for example, and we can see in the mid-west the fact that this is going to have an impact on the young generation.... It is funny... that we recognize that young people today must seek an adjustment to the fact that the United States has a new role in world relations. A role that is not a "hot dog roll". For example, in the big payola controversy which touches young people because they are the biggest buyers of records and juke box sales. It was an interesting thing that the "Detroit News" did a survey on this problem. What do they uncover, the fact that the problem of morality is so deep that the overwhelming reaction of the young people, mainly teenagers, was why pick on the disc-jockeys after a bunch of them were fired for taking money. After all, everybody gets (theirs?), this is the nature of business in relation to our society today.

In the face of this unsettled situation that we are moving into, we have to recognize the necessity of fighting to win the minds, the hearts of the young people to the working class. In the first place, a fight for a higher morality.

NY 100-4931

Now very sketchy, two other points on the question of activities. We say this with a word of pride because the Michigan Delegation was so forceful in putting this point across. Detroit has the only functioning youth march organization in the country right now. In other words, a committee which has continued indefinitely.... It exists simply because the concept was one of continuing the struggle jointly and not setting up a new organization but setting up a coordinating group that would move on to a community level to further develop the struggle for integration. I am sorry I cannot develop that point but I do want to get on to the final point, the question of a youth organization. I would strongly urge everybody to very seriously digest the essence of points being said on this question.... Therefore, without exaggerating the significance of past mistakes on problems in the youth field, it is absolutely vital for us and we in Michigan feel strongly of this question, to highlight, and to understand certain significant (facts?) on what we are attempting to say with regard to the formation of a socialist youth organization. It is the necessity of organizational independence, this has to be a youth organization that is not a "hot-house" in the convention of the Communist Party or anywhere else. This has to be an organization that makes its own mistakes, has its own leadership.... We say this because we move to the - point, namely that the motivating (force?) of such an organization has to be devotion to the socialist ideal... or placing the concept of socialism as the fulfillment of the future of youth.... Also in following them, in such a way that prestige of this group can be raised to a very high level when you can say, well here is a group of young people who live principle. Not only do they believe in socialism but they struggle honestly, forthrightly, uncompromisingly, on the day to day question.

The underlining concept involved in all this

NY 100-4931

is the fact that we recognize in order to achieve this ... the necessity of bringing about an organization not only on a 50 - 50 level - on Party and non Party youth but - its essence comes about as a result of the desire of both (Party?) and non Party. If we could work in that direction in the strengthening of the youth organization of the Communist Party, I think that this convention will have achieved a tremendous thing for the future.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: That was well worth the extra time. Now we will have action on the motion - the motion to accept the resolution on youth work. All in favor raise your cards. Opposed. It is carried. The next report will be the report by the Constitutional Committee by BURT (PH) (possibly BURT NELSON).

BURT (NELSON?): The Resolutions Committee would like to accord recognition and express on behalf of all the delegates our appreciation for those self-less and devoted comrades who have been spending so many hours with the technical work and standing at the door checking credentials, correlating this flood of literature you have in your kits, etc., as a symbol of appreciation to all of them we would introduce a comrade to read excerpts from a message from one of the fraternal comrades. A comrade who secured some 36 subscriptions to "The Worker". One of the guest members of our Party, Comrade REGINA.

REGINA BOELICKI: Comrades, it gives me great pleasure to read to you excerpts from a message of the Central Committee of the Socialist - Unity Party in Germany.

NY 100-4931

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist - Unity Party of Germany, we send militant fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 17th Party Congress meeting on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party. In the most difficult years of the cold war your courageous Party was the foremost of the American (living?) mass in the struggle for Democratic rights, peace and co-existence. The further development of the international situation rests upon the tremendous success of the Soviet Union and the United Socialist countries. This is also due to the continuous struggle for peace, of the world labor movement, of the international peace movement, and not the least, the struggle of the American Communists.

The present situation challenges the popular masses of the whole world with new possibilities to bring about, ... disarmament conference and the general and complete disarmament. The doing away with dangerous situations in which (to live?) and securing of the peace treaty. Dear comrades, strong mutual and traditional ties bind the labor movement of both our parties. The democratic and peace loving forces of Germany are struggling against the forces of war, especially against German militarism.

The main enemy would throw the people into military adventures. The first German workers and peasants - they carried on a struggle against German militarism and for the successful building of socialism in the German Democratic Republic as against the growing of imperialism in West Germany.

Dear comrades, we wish your convention great success in the (knowledge?) that your struggle for democracy, peace and socialism will achieve new and greater

NY 100-4931

proportions. The Central Committee of the Socialist-Unity Party. WALTER ULBRECHT, Secretary.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: Now Comrade BURT (PH) (NELSON) will report for the Constitutional Committee.

BURT (NELSON): Will all the delegates please take your constitution out of your kits or pockets so that you can follow the report. Your Constitution Committee, after an extensive scrutiny of the constitution as well as consultation with many members and delegates present here, have unanimously come to the conclusion that the Constitutional problems before this convention resolve themselves into two parts. The committee unanimously proposed some sort of solution to both of these problems. The first (area?) of the problem involves that which includes those immediate and pressing problems which affect the day to day work of our Party and the work of this convention. They are somewhat illustrated by the fact that during the period of nearly three years that we have operated under this constitution, the actual committee found it necessary to conduct two referendums. One, to postpone the date of the convening of this convention because we were not prepared to hold it at the time the constitution would have made it mandatory. The second referendum (was) on the matter of how the National Committee should be elected and flowing from that a sequence of constitutional changes to bring the constitution into line with the thinking of this convention. Now we call our attention as a first ^{item} to article one - where there is an editorial change proposed. I scarcely think that it requires debate. It is the (words) the - - which is meant to be your aid. This is an editorial change. There may have been some truth to this thought when the constitution was adopted.

NY 100-4931

To get to the - of our work. In article II - Purposes, section one, to add in line 5, after the words political activity, the following. Again I will call to your attention that the new material, what we propose to add is underlined in the draft you have, that which is deleted is in brackets, and I will try to proceed slow enough so that you can follow it. The first new material to be added: To attain a peaceful world, so that the America people and all mankind can work out their destiny, free from the shadow of nuclear war, to attain fuller : equality for the Negro people by banishing Jim Crow in realizing the fraternal unity of Negro and white. You will then continue the rest of the section as in the constitution. On behalf of the committee I move the adoption of this section of the report.

Now speaking of the committee on this, we needed to stress and to emphasize that one of our purposes is the fight for peace and the fight for equality, freedom and justice for the Negro people.

Unknown Female: Just a minute. Comrade ARCHIE (BROWN) wants to give a point on procedure now.

ARCHIE (BROWN): Comrades, I want to propose that all these amendments, now mind you as BURT (PH) has said, there are two parts to this report. I am only referring to the amendments procedure be as follows: The chairman will ask if there is no opposition, if there is, we then propose that there shall be one speaker for, and one against, limited to five minutes each and then the vote is taken. That is the proposal from the presiding committee.

NY 100-4931

Unknown Male: ... one to over-rule that

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: Does any person have any questions on procedure?

Unknown Male: I proposed at the time that we add ... are there any objections.... We don't vote on one of them, we vote on all of them.

BURT (NELSON): Do I understand that there is no objection to the first one. OK. The next article we go to is item 3, on Membership. Section 4, line 9, delete "if feasible", as that is an extraneous phrase and we felt it had no meaning. We could then add line 9 after "good standing" that "they may, however, apply for readmission within 6 months and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing." It was adopted due to the fact that it is a general practice but there is nothing in the constitution that says a person can reapply on this basis. Are there any objections? We will proceed.

Article IV, Structure. Section 2, page 9, the line after "By-laws", add the word "or". Line 8, delete "or State Committee" retain "may determine". Delete all that follows up to the end of line 23. We move that it be adopted. Are there any objections to this? No objections.

The purpose of this is to bring this section of the constitution dealing with the State Committees and their manner of elections, etc, into line with the methods with which we subsequently propose to elect the National Committee. OK. We will retain the balance of that page. Then on page 10, line 2, delete the words "at large". On line 6, delete all material starting with "a vacancy among members" and ending with "vacancy occurred" on line 12. The purpose of this is to again bring into line the question of filling vacancies etc. in State

NY 100-4931

Committees in the manner in which it is proposed to be done in the National Committee. If there are no objections, we will proceed.

Article V. National Organization, section 1, page 12, line 8, delete "within the first six months of the year". This was the provision which made it mandatory that the convention shall be held in two year intervals and should be held within the first six months of the year was (deleted?) by the first referendum that was taken under this constitution.

Section 4, page 13, line 12, delete the phrase "at least 90 days" and add "4 months". The committee moved for the adoption of this. The purpose of this proposal is to allow for a greater time for pre-convention discussion preceding the convention and to get away from the fact that pre-conventions have to be sandwiched into a 90 day period opening the discussion period and the opening of the convention.

This scarcely allows time for an adequate discussion of the pre-convention material in clubs. If there are no objections we will move to section 5, which was deleted by the second referendum that our Party conducted. We would add a new section to read "that each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot". In behalf of the committee, I move for adoption of this provision. Are there any objections to that?

We would add a new section 6 to read "the National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention in the following manner: that State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other state.

NY 100-4931

Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined." On behalf of the committee, I move for an adoption of this portion of section 6.

(Informant advised that from the floor it was indicated that something relative to the above section had been left out.)
"I have left nothing out comrades." For purposes of clarity, I separated so I will proceed. "That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of membership and the character of the State Organization." On behalf of the committee, I move for the adoption of new section 6. Are there any objections? The present section 6 then becomes section 7.

Section 7 will then read: "Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee." On behalf of the committee, I move for adoption.

Unknown Male: Just one question as to meaning. Does that mean that section 7 reads only that language of section 7 I am talking about section 6 because the first - sentence of section 6 ought to be deleted completely.

Unknown Female: Point of information. So far, no where has there been any insertion in reaction to the National Committee electing its officers. Would that come into that area?

NY 100-4931

BURT (NELSON): In section 7, and it will become section 8, and will remain as it is. This question was handled this morning by this committee as far as the election to this National Committee was concerned. That way it was properly (disposed) of by the convention. If there are no objections we will go to section 7.

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE: On this point, you have there that members may be recalled for cause by a two thirds vote of members of the National Committee. Now recall means recall by those who elected the members of the National Committee. The word "recall" is incorrect, it should be "removed for cause." You cannot recall somebody you did not put there. Recall is something that goes back to the body that elected.

BURT NELSON: I think you are probably right and your (full adherence) to parliamentary correctness will be so observed. Next is the question of renumbering sections until we come to page 15, line 6 from the bottom where we would delete "in connection with its duties" and insert the words "in fulfillment of its duties." The present section 10 will become present section 11. On page 16, last line it will be changed to read "from at least 4 times a year" to "at least twice a year." On behalf of the Committee I move for adoption. Are there any objections? A brief word of explanation on this is that it costs a very great deal of money to convene every session of the National Committee. We are under pressure to have short sessions when we have them 4 times a year. If they were held twice (a year) they could be perhaps 5 or 6 days. It is construed within the meaning of this that in between Regional Conferences of National Committee members with other people invited would be held to work out a more effective functioning or leadership by the National Committee. This then is the intent by the authorizing committee.

UNKNOWN MALE: Did the committee consider the situation resulting from the first sentence "the National Committee shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote such officers as it decides upon. Officers shall be members of the National Committee by virtue of their office." The question in my

NY 100-4931

mind is "what about the election of National Officers by the National Committee."

BURT NELSON: Well, the Committee did consider this and it was the thinking of the Committee, as I recall it, that this was the prerogative of the highest body of the Party, the Convention. Therefore, it was decided by the Committee this morning . . . the recommendation that the convention decided that the National Committee should elect the officers. Therefore, that is the manner in which it will be done in this convention.

UNKNOWN MALE: That is the reason I asked the question about the Constitution that will govern the (election of officers).

BURT NELSON: Precisely. This stands as I understand it, Comrade CARL, that it would be necessary in the next convention. Now it occurred to me that there was some reluctance to yield up this prerogative on the part of the convention.

UNKNOWN MALE: I would like to say that it does not follow from the change here that the convention is yielding any prerogative but I do think that we would be on stronger ground in the Constitution if we made provisions for the prerogative of the National Committee or the convention to provide for such an election as we did do in this convention. I think we have had some experience on occasion with our Constitution turning against us, by those who make it their business to do so and without in any way changing any thing in terms of our intent. I think we would be on stronger ground if we inserted a phrase here which would make it possible

NY 100-4931

for the National Committee to elect in the event that the convention does not do so. Otherwise, you are in effect obliged to amend the Constitution. Now we did not do that this time. We had the convention by unanimous consent decide that the next National Committee would elect its officers. I think we should find some way of writing it into the Constitution.

BURT NELSON: CARL, if you read the rest of that material on that page - I will read it and I think it covers it. "The National Convention shall elect by secret ballot such officers as it decides upon. All of whom shall be members of the National Committee by virtue of their office. The National Committee shall name an executive committee and shall name such other officers and committees as it thinks necessary." Now the construction put upon this in the Constitution Committee was that if the convention so willed, the National Committee could elect all of its officers and name all of its committees, but first the permission of the convention had to be obtained each time.

CARL WINTER: Well, without accepting (finally) I am satisfied as (to the interpretation placed upon this section by the Committee?).

UNKNOWN MALE: On page 15 in describing the policy of the National Committee . . . remains as is. Now I have always objected to this formulation because on page 15 it (treats) the pre-convention of the National Committee as the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole and as such having the authority to make decisions and take action necessary and incidental to the welfare of the entire Party, to act upon all problems and developments, etc.

NY 100-4931

Now I have always objected to this because it gives such sweeping powers to the National Committee that they can act in every level and in regard to every level of the Party. Now in my opinion, centralism here goes a little too far and the weakness is that no definition is given regarding the powers of the State Committee and the local organizations, such as is provided by many Constitutions of many Parties. I think this will help to create all kinds of difficulties because under this clause the National Committee can act as to the removal of any organizer, any member, etc. There is no (definition?) that the districts have a (power) concerning the day to day work in their own locality . . . I think there is such a proposal - with review to the Constitution in the light of democratic centralism, I will not offer any amendments here as it would raise a new question. I would rather have the National Committee review it from that standpoint.

BURT NELSON: Very good. In response to that and without becoming argumentative, . . . to outline the power of the National Committee. Now on page 11 in respect to the States section 3 pertains to this and section 4 and 5 separate, with section 4 in particular. Page 11 "in matters of a local, state or district matter, section, county and district committees have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policy of the Party as determined by the Constitution, the National Convention and the National Committee." We believe that that in keeping with the general concept of democratic centralism and is further related to this section on rights and duties of members. We have a problem here that can be resolved by a simple motion, I believe; and that is how quickly to (define?) some of this stuff . . .

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE: I think in the spirit of the remarks of the chairman of the Committee and also in the spirit of what was said before by the Comrade from New York, it is simply a matter of the use of language as in the case of recall and removal, for example, in which the meaning of removal was explained in an excellent speech.

It seems to me that the word "shall" is incorrect here as "shall" is mandatory, required and it seems to me that the use of the word "may" would have been more accurate and conveyed the intent. . . .

BURT NELSON: It will be in the new section 8.

UNKNOWN MALE: The National Committee may select by secret ballot or majority vote, that means that each convention may act on it and may or may not do it that way.

BURT NELSON: Again I do not wish to become argumentative . . . The Constitution has agreed . . . the idea that the convention was prepared to yield up on this question. They did give their permission as to what was to be done. Now if there is going to be a big issue here, let us take a vote on it. No further objections, can we move.

Now the Rights and Duties of Members, Article 6, Section 1, line 14. Delete "they also have the right in accordance with section 2 of this article to dissent from decisions that have been made." The primary purpose of the Constitution Committee in taking this one out was that it was redundant and the repeating of another section. The motivation of

NY 100-4931

taking this out was not one of principle, and if there are no objections . . . Now it appears in section 2, beginning with the second paragraph, where the whole sentence has been deleted. We propose to delete the language here as it is not within the area of the problem. So we will have a vote on this if there are no objections.

You will now go to line 18, same section. We should insert the word "should" to read "members should be active in carrying out the program of the Party", then we would insert the word "read" which will be "to read and circulate literature, to increase their knowledge of scientific socialism and to attend club meetings regularly."

On behalf of the Committee, I will move for adoption. If there are no objections I will proceed.

Now section 12, page 21, line 10, where we would delete the phrase "without prejudice." We have been reminded in this section that there have been some resignations of which we feel a little prejudiced about (laughter). I move to adopt this and if there are no objections we will proceed.

UNKNOWN MALE: I should like to bring you back to page 19, top of the page, first paragraph where you speak of the guarantee of the right to (think?) shall be implemented by providing for the expression and discussion . . . of Party publications. The publication provided for in section 13, does that refer to a special publication . . .?

NY 100-4931

BURT NELSON: The question being asked was "does this section, this material, provide for a publication to express dissenting view." Now to hear out some opinions of this . . . One of the items dealt with . . . in another matter and it was suggested that we would pass this for the time being. We (recorded) it.

UNKNOWN MALE: Mr. Chairman I am not quite clear here in deleting "without prejudice". Why was that put in there in the beginning? (laughter)

BURT NELSON: Well, the Chairman of the Constitution Committee will not endeavor at this time to develop why it was put in there. I can tell you why it was taken out. It was taken out precisely because some people do resign with prejudice to the Party and upon whom we have prejudice too. We do not propose that we should give any one the automatic right to resign . . . We say he has the right to resign and that is as far as we are prepared to go. Can we proceed.

Now section 3, page 22, line 8 where we propose to add the language, that after "any member" the language "or Party Committee." Line 13 would add after "in that club" the new language "clubs or individual members may request the help of the next higher committee on such charges." In line 16 after "trial committee" add "of the club or appropriate higher Party body."

Section 6, page 23, line 1 we would add after "any member" the words "or committee." I will move for adoption and there will be a word of explanation.

NY 100-4931

Now the present language in the Constitution is so ambiguous that we have had a sequence of problems over the nation as to the meaning of the intent of the existing language. To illustrate I believe it was in Los Angeles, a group of Trotskyites declared that they joined the Party, were in the Party and composed the Party and insisted that this language prevented anybody outside the club from bringing in any charges. They had a little hassle about this little problem. We had a similar situation in Seattle and there have been many instances where this language is so ambiguous that you have to be a lawyer before you could determine whether anybody could be brought to trial. The point on this is that whenever there are charges, a need for a trial, you should declare the basis for it, the method to be used, the procedure and that it shall be handled expeditiously. There is the right to appeal to the next higher body. The effort here is to make this clear. We make no extravagant claim that we have done so but this was the intent.

UNKNOWN MALE: We have had some very interesting experiences with this section in our district of Northern California . . . You will notice the section where it says - about charges being made. It makes a mandate that the charges be acted on and calls for the election of a "trial" committee. It seems that we have all these things except a mandate for action . . .

Now it is true that the (first) part of that section can clarify it but I believe there should be an addition to the sentence in this section and that it shall be perfectly clear. Now actually I believe . . .

NY 100-4931

that section should be changed to read, and will be in perfect agreement with the intent of the committee. Charges shall be acted upon by the club or appropriate committees. . . . This will put ~~it~~ in the jurisdiction of the club or appropriate higher committee.

BURT NELSON: It is the intent of the committee ~~and as~~ that we advance the problem. . . and as chairman I do not feel that this is too big an issue but if you want to press your point I am not going to argue with you.

UNKNOWN MALE: I would like to speak against that proposal. The proposal that was made by the Comrade.

GUS HALL: I would like to see language developed in the Constitution which would take care of the problems - confronting the Northern California Party. However, we had an experience which was just contrary to this one. We had an experience where a higher body in the Party brought on charges a comrade and a club in the Party and destroyed years of work in the Party without the club ever knowing about it. That is what we want to avoid and that is why it was originally drafted that way. Now I think that language has to be found that will handle both sides of this question. We certainly do not want the clubs by-passed and charges against any member of the club. We have to guarantee that the club is aware of it.

UNKNOWN MALE POSSIBLY MICKIE LIMA: Comrades I want to speak for the amendment made by SOL (PH) (possibly SOLOMON MONROY). If there

NY 100-4931

is a procedure any place in the Party where a higher body can proceed against a member of a club and we do not know anything about it, something is radically wrong I have seen it happen and wording in the Constitution is not going to take care of that matter. The point is here, you have heard what happened in Los Angeles with regard to the Trotskyites. This same thing happened in Northern California in connection with a certain club where the tail was trying to bite the dog and the higher body said that this individual was acting in a wrong way. Charges had to be brought against him for anti-Party activity and the higher body has not only the right but the duty to proceed that way. This convention must give that body the right or the power, whatever you want to call it, to proceed to handle that question. Do not forget that there are procedures relative to the question of appeals all the way up to the National Committee. Do not forget that and if we are not going to have this, we are not going to have a Party.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: We have had one for and one against the amendment. I think we have to vote.

Secretary from the Floor: Secretary reads proposed amendment from the minutes.
"That the section shall say that clubs shall act upon charges. Now the change. To read - "that charges shall be acted on by the club or committee having appropriate jurisdiction."

BURT NELSON: the objection that
was following line 16 after the trial committee. We are assuming that when charges are

NY 100-4931

brought by a higher body or a trial committee or when a club asks for help . . . We said . . . all such charges shall be acted on expeditiously by an elected trial committee - then added, on the club for appropriate higher body.

UNKNOWN MALE: Since there is no actual controversy in principle, why can't we throw this back to the committee to work out . . .

BURT NELSON: The committee did not look with favor on that.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: A question has been called. Shall we vote. All in favor of the amendment as stated hold up your cards. Opposed?

UNKNOWN FEMALE: As I understand it, the committee is proposing that sentence which reads "clubs shall act upon the charges directed against any member in that club." It shall be changed to read: "charges shall be acted on by clubs or committees having appropriate jurisdiction", followed by the changes of the committee.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: All in favor of the amendment raise your cards. Opposed?
The amendment is carried.

BURT NELSON: I think this brings before the convention now, the question of accepting this part of the Constitution Committee report as amended by this amendment. Are there any questions?

NY 100-4931

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: A question on the motion. All in favor hold up your cards. Opposed? Carried. Will those who are opposed please hold up your delegate cards again so we can count them.

BURT NELSON: Now, we have an editorial proposal which the committee feels somewhat strongly, would simplify the work of the next constitutional committee and would certainly simplify the work of the membership in trying to (bind?) (ph) that into the Constitution. That is, that this Constitution be reprinted, that it be properly and adequately indexed.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: All in favor will hold up their delegates cards. Opposed? Carried.

BURT NELSON: Now then we come to the second area of the problem that the constitutional committee voted unanimously and agreed was the problem and unanimously proposes a solution. It pertains to the section that Comrade POTASH was asking about and some other items. The item that Comrade POTASH was asking about begins on the last paragraph on page 18 and continues on over to about one third the way down on page 19. It deals with the question of dissent in a publication for a vehicle to dissent in - it goes in the direction of a number of other questions. Questions which the committee felt were very serious questions, questions that needed further study and development. We therefore propose a motion, which is as follows: That this convention goes on record as instructing the incoming National Committee to make the necessary changes so that the Constitution conforms more with

NY 100-4931

the basic principles of democratic centralism. On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of this motion and I will speak on it briefly. The committee spent a great deal of time pondering how to pose the problem that centers around this question of dissent, how to propose some aspect of democratic centralism in the Constitution. We found that we did not have the time to adequately work out the wording of it so we finally arrived at a decision in consultation with members of the presiding committee and members of delegations here that the best way to handle this question was, one, by a motion that firmly declared we, the convention, believes in the principles of democratic centralism and instructs the National Committee to work out the language of this in full confidence that the National Committee would be able to do this and do it far more expeditiously than we would be able to do it in the very limited time that we have.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade chairman I do not think that if we have any provision in this Constitution that would give such a power to the National Committee that after the convention to make changes unless we also make a provision here that it goes out for referendum after the changes are made, otherwise you are not acting within the Constitution. This is my opinion and I think that the comrades will share my opinion.

BURT NELSON: The chairman of the Constitution Committee recognizes that this is somewhat of an unusual procedure as it does not say in the Constitution specifically how the Constitution shall be amended.

NY 100-4931

This is recognized. But nonetheless, we felt that the convention could instruct the National Committee to do a certain kind of a job in a certain way and that it had confidence in them that they could and would do it.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON: Comrade chairman, could not comrade (PAT) TOOHEY's remarks be rectified by the committee directing that a referendum be taken after the National Committee acts? How do you think on that comrade Chairman?

BURT NELSON: The convention can do as it so wills, as it so desires. The chairman of the Constitution Committee does not think in this instance that this is obligatory.

BILL ALBERTSON: The convention as the highest and supreme body of the Party has the right to delegate any of its powers to any committee of the Party to carry out those powers and therefore the suggestion made by the committee is perfectly within order and is constitutional because it would be delegating its powers to the incoming National Committee.

UNKNOWN MALE: I do not want to speak on this question. I want to speak procedure. Now this is not substantive and I think a substantive use of procedural questions, I believe that that should be finished first and I would suggest that it would expedite matters if somebody would, if they want to, that they make a motion on this thing and handle it like you did before, one for and one against and then vote on it. Now, once that is over and this is straightened away, if there is then any discussion or objection on the substance of the motion . . .

NY 100-4931

the proposal for these events. . . . two speakers for and two against limited to five minutes apiece and then we take a vote on it. Now if you approve of that, there are already a few comrades who have asked to speak on it and they will be heard from if they want to speak in this fashion.

UNKNOWN MALE: A point of clarification. It seems to me that the comrade that raised the question said that some more or less but following the Constitution is the way that the Constitution should give members, not as it It does not seem It seems to me that we do not have to go through the procedure suggested by the chairman of the presiding committee because this convention under parliamentary procedure has the right to delegate its authority to the incoming committee and on this specific question the committee becomes a subcommittee of the convention as it relates to the question.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: Comrade chairman, a point of information. As I understand the recommendation is that we refer this question to the incoming National Committee with instructions that they settle the question, that they come in with a drafted form on this question within the spirit of democratic centralism. Is that it? Now one thing I want to know about is during the interim between that time that the National Committee decides this question and now do people have the right to go around and dissent on all questions? (laughter) Do they? I want to know that now.

UNKNOWN MALE: I would like to answer that question. You see, that is why it is suggested that you settle the procedural question first that

NY 100-4931

TOOHEY raised - get that out of the way. If somebody wants to make a motion, let him make a motion, motion that people do not know what they are speaking about, in order to veer one way or the other the point that he makes. Let the chair rule on it. It is further suggested to the comrades that the convention does have the power to delegate and then we can decide whether you want to delegate it or not.

UNKNOWN MALE: I am not asking whether we want to or not. All I want to know is during the process, during this interim period, do we abide by the Constitution.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: I know - Easy does it. A ruling has been asked for the chair, PAT, you get up here. Parliamentarian please come up here. A comrade has asked for a ruling from the chair as to whether or not the convention can delegate the power to the National Committee and the chair rules in favor of that and so that is why we asked

PARLIAMENTARIAN: If the chair rules on that interpretation of the question, the only way that that can be changed is by an appeal against the ruling of the chair. But it is my impression that this question has been settled since there has been a withdrawal of it. If that is the ruling of the chair, there is no question before the house. Now before we send to the Constitution Committee that the Constitution as amended by this convention would be just that until the National Committee had its first meeting to adopt this question and resolve it.

NY 100-4931

If they do not do it at the first meeting, then as soon thereafter as possible but the Constitution, the language of it, would stand.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades about a point I believe (SID) made) is a serious question. He answered it by What we are going on record, it seems to me, and its the thing here, is that we find the present wording in the Constitution is not constant with the principles of democratic centralism. If a simple motion to record that fact that we find the existing Constitution not in conflict with the principles of democratic centralism but we give the authority and we go on record for it, it means that from this moment on, that the principles of democratic centralism prevail but that the wording is given to the National Committee for its action.

BURT NELSON: The motion that the committee made is as follows: That this convention goes on record as instructing the incoming National Committee to make the necessary changes so that the Constitution conforms more fully with the basic principles of democratic centralism. That is the motion and its before the house. Now I would speak in brief on it. It is the unanimous opinion of the Constitution Committee that the Constitution is of a democratic centralist character but that this is not full or complete in the language in all instances. This issue is how to place the language so that we do not have ambiguity or . . . that it cannot or can be too readily misconstrued. And it is the understanding of the committee that the issue here is one of language and working out how we state it and we did not have time

NY 100-4931

in the Constitution Committee to do it. It is a most serious and somewhat involved question to take all of these things adequately.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade chairman, I would like to make an amendment to the proposal. I would like to make an amendment that would read as follows: That we delete the right to dissent from this Constitution and let the National Committee reword it, but we delete from here this section beginning, the guarantee of the right to dissent provided by the section shall be implemented by the right for expression and discussion of the many . . . until the National Committee is able to come in with a correct formula.

BURT NELSON: The chairman of the Constitution Committee understands the intent of the committee, this is not an acceptable amendment to the committee.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM THE FLOOR: I think the issue of those paragraphs. . .

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: Just a moment, we have a motion on the floor. We have a second to that. We can have one for and one against the motion.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM THE FLOOR: I do not think the issue here is voting up or down the right of dissent but that would it be acceptable if during the period, as the motion states here, during the period when the National Committee is working out the appropriate wording, the paragraph which describes the guarantee in terms of a special publication, that the last paragraph be stricken until they can figure out

NY 100-4931

the wording, because otherwise its a question of a publication which has to be published in order to discuss its many views and . . . up in the air.

BURT NELSON: Comrades, I understand and I fully sympathize with your anxiety on this. But I do not think we should start to tinker with this motion now. It is the feeling of the committee that we should not tinker with it, even though I sympathize with some of the views of you. I just would prefer that you would not tinker with this.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: All in favor of the motion, raise their delegates cards. Opposed? The motion has been carried. I do think the motion has carried. . .

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: He asks, please state the motion comrade.

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: The motion has been carried already.

UNKNOWN MALE FROM FLOOR: I want to know whether the votes on the amendment or the motion. . . .

Chairwoman LIGHTFOOT: On the motion, Okay.

BURT NELSON: Comrades, I know, everybody is tired. If you would pay some attention . . . we would be through sooner. This completes the work of the Constitution Committee. On behalf of the committee, I move that the committee be discharged.

HCO:em
(20)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades, I want to make the following proposal for your approval or disapproval that the presiding committee appoint, in connection with the upcoming election, presiding committee appoint five spellers, one of them as chairman. Secondly, that these spellers handle the preparation of ballots, their distribution, collection and counting and report the results to this commission. That is a proposal from the Presiding Committee.

Chairwoman: Any discussion. All in favor will
LIGHTFOOT: hold up the delegates cards.

UNKNOWN MALE: Now the next proposal is as follows -
Is PHIL BART (ph)? I am going to need your help on this one. Proposal is that when we adjourn this evening we adjourn into caucuses and when we adjourn now we adjourn into caucuses. Your . . . is your caucus for the purpose of nominations. You can decide to go eat or however you want to do it but before the . . .

Tonight you should try and we hope that you will finish your nominations and be ready to report them to the presiding committee. Now what is that - well, I think the . . . delegations ought to turn it into the presiding committee this evening, as they get finished or report where they stand - do not go away you have to find out where to caucus - PHIL - the announcement - now listen carefully - the announcement as to where your caucuses are going to meet. PHIL will give them to you. Will you please pay attention.

NY 100-4931

PHIL BART: I suggest that there be no adjournment for dinner but that caucuses go right into session so that we can complete this session sometime in the next few hours. You have already been informed about evening affair. You have all the information about the affair tonight before you and if you have not, they will be distributed to you. Now, here is the - Now I will only give them once Comrades so you had better take it down. New York, the whole left section of this hall. None whatsoever, except size. New England, my right, over there. Eastern Pennsylvania, Room 1027. Now we want - we gave rooms especially to those who had rooms. Maryland and the South, near the checkroom, on the left. Ohio, Room 927 and you get your key from Illinois. Michigan, in the technical room. Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, we suggest meet together because the others are small delegations and should have the benefit of the discussion. In committee room in back of the (technical) room, used by the presiding committee.

Chairwoman Will everybody sit down so that they can hear what Comrade BART is saying and they will not have to ask questions or go to the wrong place. Okay. Comrades in the back will you please sit down.

PHIL BART: Minnesota, Room 929. Get your key from Illinois also. Washington and Oregon in the exhibition room, on my left there. Southern California, room 829. Northern California, Room 1026. Southern California - you gave the wrong - well - go to your own room, you gave me the wrong room here.

HCO:em
(22)

NY 100-4931

Northern California is 1026. All right you have a room, go there. New Jersey, 914. Wait, just a minute. You have room 927.

Chairwoman..... Comrades we will adjourn after this
LIGHTFOOT..... one announcement. In the morning there will be a special report, a fifteen minute report on the Cuban situation by JOE NORTH. I am sure that all of you are awaiting to hear him. It will be in the morning instead of tonight.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades, do not forget to take all of your material with you. Do not leave any notes, do not leave your books, do not leave your folders, take everything with you.

NY 100-4931

MORNING SESSION
December 13, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at 10:30 a.m. ARCHIE BROWN was elected chairman of the session.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK presented proposals made by the National Committee in that the incoming National Committee should set up a national commission to guide the national group field work. He further proposed that a series of conferences be held in the national group field work and that the incoming National Committee should prepare a resolution on the national group field. All the above proposals were presented in the form of a motion which was carried.

JACK KLING: A Commission on Jewish work has been meeting before this convention and was working for quite some time to prepare a resolution for the Party in preparation for this convention. Unfortunately, the work of the commission has not been fully completed, and while a draft resolution was prepared and submitted to this convention, to the committee that was established by the convention, the committee felt that in view of the fact that we didn't have enough time to consider fully this resolution, and in view of the fact that there were many questions in the resolution of a debatable character which required more lengthy time for discussion, the commission was unable to act on that resolution, and the commission decided to recommend to this convention that the incoming NC should take over this draft resolution that has been prepared plus additional material, consider all these questions, and that the incoming NC should prepare a final resolution on the Jewish problem, questions in this country, and that this resolution should be finalized, completed by February 15th and at that time, submit the resolution for the consideration of the Party as a whole.

NY 100-4931

Therefore, comrades, the first motion in behalf of the committee, is that the incoming NC shall be instructed by this convention to prepare a final resolution on the Jewish problem by February 15th. That's a motion. We'll act on that after the full report.

Now, while the committee also felt that it's extremely positive that this question is being placed before this convention, however, we feel also that the NC deserves some criticism for not being able to supply to the Party as a whole a resolution on the Jewish problem before this convention so that the comrades in the districts would have had a chance to consider the problem and discuss it and come to this convention for action. In the absence of a resolution, the commission makes the following recommendation: that we incorporate three paragraphs or approximately three paragraphs in the national draft resolution, and we have a copy here of the insertions that we propose in the draft resolution.

Before reading the insertions, I would like to make the following comment. It is conceded that it may require some corrections from a grammatical point of view, or pulling certain sentences together. The editing committee will _____ responsibility, so that when we're voting on this we're not voting word for word, we're voting for the essence of the thing. Now the insertion is the following:

"Among the people of many origins who helped to create the material and cultural wealth of our country and contributed to its democratic development by fighting for their own rights are over five million Jews, the largest Jewish community, in fact almost half of the Jewish people. These millions of Jews are faced with common problems of anti-semitism, job discrimination, survival of the quota system in universities and colleges, housing restrictions et cetera. It is the job of Communists to fight this anti-semitism and all forms of anti-Jewish discrimination.

"As shown by the bodies of synagogues in the South, the campaign against anti-semitism is linked with the struggle against all types of racism,

NY 100-4931

"particularly against Negro discrimination. The establishment of the state of Israel to cooperate with the Arab states in former Palestine was a progressive anti-imperialist development. The Communist Party stands for the rights and the security of Israel as formulated by the Israeli Communist Party and all progressives, Jews and Arabs, working for a good democratic Israel linked with the countries of Asia and Africa struggling for their independence from colonialism and imperialism. The policies of the present government of Israel, however, its subservience to American imperialism, are detrimental to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa and of Israel itself. Jewish bourgeois nationalists in the United States who seek to promote the policies of the State Department through the Ben Gurion government are working to the detriment of world peace, of the American people, the Jewish people, as well as of Israel.

"The Communist Party calls upon its members and all progressives to pay attention to the problems of the Jewish community in safeguarding the rights of the Jewish people, in the building of the progressive Jewish culture in Yiddish and English, and to combat the influence of the bourgeois nationalists who are utilizing the justified interests of the Jews in the U.S.A. and Israel and Jewish communities in other lands for cold war purposes, separating the Jewish workers from the general American struggle and from the struggle alongside the Negro people against all forms of racism and discrimination."

Comrades, in behalf of the commission, we recommend that we adopt the essence of this thing; however, authorizing the editing committee to make whatever editorial changes without changing the principle of this insertion.

NY 100-4931

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Comrades, you have heard the two motions; one to accept the report which includes the three paragraphs to be inserted in the draft resolution and it should be edited, and the other one is that the incoming NC shall be instructed to work out a resolution on Jewish work which shall be submitted to the whole Party for discussion. Floor, is there a second to these proposals? Floor is open for discussion. Comrade PAUL NOVICK is first speaker followed by Comrade JUNE GORDON. PAUL?

PAUL NOVICK: Comrades, let me _____ to start off with a few remarks, _____ a few quotations from the old masters which I think are important in our general work and particularly our work among nationalities as well as among the Jewish people. First quotation from GEORGI DIMITROV, the _____, page 77. I quote, "The fascists are _____ through the entire history of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and _____ of all that is exalted and heroic in its past. Mussolini makes every effort to make capital for himself out of the heroic _____ of Garibaldi". And it speaks of the French fascists, the Bulgarian fascists. And now I continue the quotations from DIMITROV. "The American fascists appeal to the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses are the _____ of their people in a historically correct _____, in a _____ Marxist-Leninist spirit, who do nothing to link up the present struggle with the people's revolutionary traditions and past, voluntarily hand over to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation. The Communists are the _____ opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But we are not supporters of national realism (ph) and should never act as such," from the _____.

_____ there's from STALIN's speech to the 16th Congress of the Soviet Party _____ from his book,

NY 100-4931

"Marxism and the National Question", page 204, I quote, "Lenin never feared that national _____ as national languages because (ph) used in their own common language within the boundaries of a single state before the victory of Socialism on a world scale. Lenin, on the contrary, said something diametrically opposite, namely that," and here STALIN quotes from LENIN, "national and state dissolences (ph) amongst peoples and countries will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale", from LENIN's "Left-wing Communism" and _____. And now comrades -- a few remarks.

As always active in Jewish work, I wish to stress before this convention the urgency of engaging the Party seriously at last in this work. Beneath our special reasons for that, there's a population about five and a half million Jews in this country and they must not be ignored. But there's other special reasons. About four million of them are concentrated in the largest cities of the U.S.A., for historical reasons which I can't elaborate now, with over two million in New York, over 400,000 in Los Angeles, 350,000 in Chicago, et cetera. This concentration gives Jewish Americans _____ particularly, in the political, economic, and cultural life of our country. Let's ask ourselves therefore, is it possible to conduct a really effective struggle for peace without _____ taking into consideration the problems of the Jewish community?

Another reason, social democracy in the U.S.A. has its base in the Jewish community, among sections of the Jewish working class, mainly in the needle trades. It is from this base that DUBINSKY operates in the labor movement and the American life generally. Is it possible, then, to fight them at their base without knowing the particular problems of the Jewish masses? Of course, general problems effect the Jewish workers as they effect all workers. But what are the specific problems in the Jewish communities?

NY 100-4931

You know that the Nazis have murdered 6,000,000 of the Jewish people. And there are struggles of the Jewish people against Nazis like the uprisings in the Warsaw Ghetto. the establishment of a state of Israel which was a progressive anti-imperialist development. All these and other developments strengthen the admonition of DIMITROV but because of Meyerism (ph) on the part of progressives the of the chauvinists (ph). As a result these justified thousand dollars of their people dues (ph) here. The arising of pain and anguish enterprise have been utilized by the in order to strengthen their Jewish community. Bourgeois nationalism has become a serious danger and instrument in the cold war. The founders of our (ph) so called joint anti-semitism (ph) are being used in a national and international scale, on a national and international scale as shown by the despicable article in "Life" magazine last week. The "Morning Freiheit" is getting an editorial on this matter in the English section of today's issue.

The slanderers are attempting to discredit the glorious role of the Soviet Union as champion of peace. It is abundantly clear that we are dealing with something which should be the concern of all progressives.

Unfortunately this is not the case. Unfortunately too many Jewish progressives shy away from Jewish problems or have a disdainful attitude to Jewish work because of Meyerism (ph) and just shortsightedness bourgeois nationalists, Dubinskyites who are neutralizing sentiments to strengthen their hold upon the workers. How do we stand on the problem of anti-semitism in the U.S.A.? the length of the fight for Negro rights as seen from the abundance of South. What is the attitude to Jewish culture or social activities, in Yiddish and in English? Activities can reach many hundreds of thousands of youths and adults are thrown (ph) in by the bourgeois nationalists.

NY 100-4931

There is another question of Israel and the sentiments for Israel and the _____ by political Zionism and the Zionist (ph) government. And we got the question of Jewish culture in _____ with which many progressives, Jews as well as non-Jews, are concerned. How is it that in Britain we _____ a comparatively small Jewish community _____ organ of the Party? "Marxism Today" conducted a discussion for six months of this problem while "Political Affairs" was oblivious to this. Time does not permit me to deal adequately with any of the problems enumerated, particularly the problem of bourgeois nationalism and the harmful use of the sentiments for Israel _____ or the Jewish community or the general American scene (ph).

I do hope, comrades, you'll get down to these problems. There must be an end to traditional neglect by the Party of Jewish work. These are new times, times of bold approach as Comrade Gus Hall correctly stated in his speech. I thought that _____ at long last so that they can better fight the cold war and do better work for peace and for socialism.

UNMALE:

"Comrade June"

JUNE GORDON:

Comrades, this convention will make us oldsters live at least 10 years longer I am sure. The first opening remarks of welcome by Comrade BEN DAVIS through the wonderful keynote speech of GUS HALL, there was one thing missing and this thing that we missed is characteristic of our taking position today of our rightful place to give leadership to all the people in our country. What was missing in the opening remarks, and in the keynote speech, and in the discussion was the old time business: we're a small party, how can we do all of this?

NY 100-4931

We are a big party in that we have vision and are undertaking to give that leadership which our country is entitled to. And in doing so we are now correcting failures. Not only on the Jewish question but also on the national question, on the youth question, and I am not one of those that feel that the Jewish question was singled out for neglect. There were many things that our Party did not tackle for one reason or another and I don't have time to go into it. Something happened at this convention and I want to make only one point and this will help me.

These wonderful flowers, the beauty that we are fighting for, presented by a needle worker are very symbolic, for this is the year of the 50th anniversary of the shirt and waist-maker strike where, among the 20,000 that went out in the general strike, Jewish women were in the majority and laid the basis for industrial development in the needle trades. And one of the placards carried in that strike, and we need to remember it, was expressed politically. The oneness of the struggle for economic security and culture for the Jewish people, Jewish culture that helps to make our progressive all-American culture. The placard said, "We want bread but roses too" and that's what we're fighting for today. Bread but roses too for all of the people.

One of the reasons I think that we have not, that so much resistance among Jewish communists to Jewish work, is that living in an imperialist country we have to stand guard against from imperialist ideology, whether they are Jewish imperialists, capitalists, or not Jewish capitalists. I want to speak about the Jewish capitalists, the handful that manage to get into the lower echelons of monopoly capitalism like what's-his-name, starts with a B, BARUCH (BERNARD), who prides himself upon being the adviser of presidents. But he can't play golf with the President, where the President plays golf, but he ignores that.

NY 100-4931

And some of the oil, lower oil, monopolies that control and lead the American Jewish Committee proclaimed that the Jewish people are a middle-class people. . . . At this convention we have to make a break with that throughout the Party. We've got to claim the Jewish people as being part of the working class. And as a matter of fact this is true.

I am a daughter of a woman who was not in the shirt and waist-makers' strike, but by the time I was 11, I was on the picket line with her a few years later at a _____ men's clothing contractors' shop because I was a basting spooler (ph). And my father, before he died, said my shingle (ph) isn't going to be a worker, she's going to be a typewriter. (laughter). Every one of the young immigrants that came to this land, shirt and waist makers, outstanding among them _____.

NY 100-4931

.....but that it is in my bloodstream because my mother was on the picket line with me when I was arrested.

2,000,000 Jews among the 15,000,000 that came here, 15,000,000 immigrated from 1899 to 1920 and they.... still alive. They are our grandparents, or parents, our children's grandparents found their way to Socialism and were among the founders of Socialism. Jewish workers knew the struggle for bread and groceries too and therefore, among the 80% who are American-born Jews today, they are children like myself whose parents wanted them to be not slaves in a sweatshop, but a typewriter. The vast majority of the Jews are wage and salary workers and even if not in basic industry, many are going into automobiles, electronics and so forth, not so much in the traditional needle trades. Whether they are white collar workers or not, they belong to the leadership of the Communist Party because they are insecure economically and if as they are... destined and did not want to get killed in a H-bomb war.

Our problem is that the Jewish community is highly organized, but completely under the leadership of the middle class and the upper bourgeoisie. Today at this convention when we are doing so many wonderful things to chart our course, we have got to chart our course to inspire Jewish comrades, whether they are in trade unions or in other organizations, to become the carriers of a protective Jewish equality.and maybe other organizations and conclusions. They are all for Negro rights. There is no time to describe how they have been adopting resolutions and actions for Negro rights.

AWM:vmm

(2)

All Jewish organizations for civil rights...membership for mass action, being leaders they do not believe in organizing their middle class. That is for us today, to get into these organizations and give that leadership, that policy for ...fight for Negro rights that...members will not move out in changing neighborhoods. That is for us today.

Let us go forward in this convention to make sure that the Jewish people are not so poisoned so the...democratic leadership and upper bourgeoisie that when the day comes for a people's democracy here in the second...Socialism...will not have mensheviks among them, but that they will all be good Communists or Socialists.

Chairman BROWN:

Comrades, I know I am going to have to break up several inspiring speeches...7 minutes. I am going to stand up and put my hand over the mike. That does not mean it's criticism of anybody or that is it a ...that your contribution. We have got to move on here.

Now Comrades, I think we have come to the time that we have to take a vote on these proposals. Let us see what the will of the body is. Do you want anymore speeches?

(A motion was made from the floor and passed to postpone debate).

Now you have two motions before you. On the question of adopting the three paragraphs that JACK KLING read off to be inserted in the main resolution for the territorial change(ph).

(Motion carried.)

AWM:vmm

(3)

NY 100-4931

Now on the motion of instructing the incoming National Committee to work out a resolution for Jewish work to be submitted to the Party for discussion.

(Motion carried.)

JAMES JACKSON:

Comrades, in the outer lobby there is a considerable amount of smoke. Do not be alarmed.... faulty wiring in the basement.

GUS HALL:

I think you know by now that what is the core of the problem and that is true...presiding nominating committee....difficult that we want to present to the convention of rather serious in nature. Rising from the effort of nomination which I think...slowly we are all beginning to understand that we will have to do away with this type of nomination. And I am sure by the time the next convention comes around there will not be...nobody around who suggests this type of discussion. However, one question. The work....we adopted it and some problems have arisen because of..... I donot want to present the idea that it was the fault of the caucuses or the districts. Rather, the problem arises on the very system itself, the divided method of....

What happened was that once we began to compile the....status of the National Committee....what it looked like after the different nominations were read, it became immediately clear that there would be no balance to such a committee in any sense of the word and that very important categories were completely out from these!.....

ALM:vmm

(4)

NY 100-4931

Secondly, it became obvious that the categories were so serious in nature and so large that it could not be balanced anyhow with the 15 that we designated them to be overall categories. So that in short is the problem. That is the problem in general that we face this morning.

....that....Nominating and Presiding Committee decided that I should make a proposal for a change of onecategory. The categories that were picked and are balanced are:

1. Negro composition
2. Industrial
3. Youth. complete.
4. Women. Very short
5. Puerto Rican people.

Now to this development of these problems. You comrades remember that we had the problem, the purpose of it was to balance off the National Committee, so politically it balanced and to include into at least the main conclusions of the national staff so that we think now all of this should be done in the context of the 15 and that is an absolute impossibility. There is no way to....so therefore the proposal for....and again the proposal is for this specific convention. Again I say it is a real lesson for all of us that it is not a method of election of a Communist organization. If we have reached maturity

AWM:vmm

(5)

NY 100-4931

and gotten out of our difficulties of the past, we naturally wouldn't have even proposed it because the Leninist leadership under the system of democratic centralism would have been that the Nominating Committee would have brought in a slate, recommended the number and the whole convention would have voted on it. And, I am sure, at the next convention we will do exactly that, because in our Party we must again struggle against all types of ideas of federalism, all ideas about local patriotic interest and all that. That has no place in our meeting of a Communist organization; that the leadership of our Party must be invested on the basic political content and that is the Communist way of doing things.

In view of the time element we unanimously recommend that instead of 15 general categories, it should be 25. This will give us a chance to balance it and to include.....Now I would like....I think it will work in that generally the direction we would go anyway andnext convention will be on that category, we will not need the other category at all.

So I think that....we are moving in the right direction and therefore we unanimously suggest that you give the committee authority to change it to 25 from the 15.

CHAIRMAN BROWN:

Comrades, you have heard a proposal by GUS HALL. Is it seconded?

Unknown Female

What about the total?

AWM:vmm
(6)

NY 100-4931

Chairman BROWN:

That includes raising the total to 60.

Unknown Male:

How many were down there at large?

GUS HALL:

Let me add this, that as far as nominations are concerned for this enlargement there is no limit. What happened was that the comrades did try to find some classification in order to justify. They just went ahead....everybody into the general category so there is plenty of nominations and the committee now has the authority to make additional, and that it will come up before the convention for vote.

Unknown male:

I will fully agree with the remarks made by GUS HALL, but I must see the guarantee that the mistake that we have made at this convention, and I submit it is a mistake; I for one made the recommendation at the National Committee meeting that we are not going to elect a National Committee on this kind of a basis. But I cannot guarantee that at the next convention we are ^{not} going to make this mistake again unless this convention changes the amendment that we have made to the constitution because in the new constitution we have made provision for a similar type of election of a National Committee. I request that we reconsider the objection as guaranteed....such mistakes.

NY 100-4931

GUS HALL:

Let me add here that I am sure that I represent the unanimous opinion of the Nominating Committee if I move now that the incoming committee will make such provisions for the coming convention.

Chairman BROWN:

The question before the house at this moment is increasing the number of people in the at-large category, from 15 to 25, thereby raising the total to 60.

Unknown Male:

Comrade HALL,....in almost all the categories you raised there are these comrades who are the least known, in other words , the youth category. Industrial candidates are the same way, mainly lower echelon people. Now in a general election these people would stand a weak chance of election.

GUS HALL:

This will be taken care of in the following way:

When the Nominating Committee will bring in the balance, the first 25 will be the ones that will be so called recommended by the Nominating Committee. We will go into all these categories in a moment.

Chairman BROWN:

You will tell us who these people are and why they were chosen. Are there any further questions before the vote preparations? All those in favor of increasing the number of general categories from 15 to 25 and the total to 60, raise cards.

NY 100-4931

(Motion apparently carried.)

TOM (NABRIED):

Comrades, I would like to say a few words before we go into the details of the report. Our Party is now struggling to consolidate itself and march forward. But, I think, in order for us to be successful, we must do at least three things:

1. Strengthen the ideology of the Party as to unity, discipline and vigilance against disruptive ideology. In my way of thinking this means that we cannot go on as we have been going in the past, whereas we have been debating questions....taking advantage of the present situation in the Party to further deteriorate the ideology of the Party. We must have akind of debate. We must strengthen the inner democracy of the Party, but, at the same time, we must guard against disruption.

We found a number of things in our work. We found that there are desubjectivity, a lack of flexibility in approach, a lack of objectivity in many instances in dealing with some questions. All of this hampers building and consolidating the Party, for we must begin to listen to what other comrades have to say, judge what they have to say, sometimes....but, you can also get value out of.... instead of covering up. You all know what is on his mind; if it is helpful or destructive. Sometimes you find that among all categories divided up, if you will excuse me and I am not in a position to answer your argument at this time. I became very subjective and they hold it against you.....

NY 100-4931

At the same time Comrades, while doing this.... we must say that discipline and understanding of what I was trying to stand for is identified by occupation. We have found in a number of areas where a group of comrades, the people in these groups took one of the other of the extremes that were very harmful to the Party...leftists, revisionists, etc. I think that this convention has already taken steps to close that era in our organization and to strengthen it. I want to say that it is the duty of all of us, whatever position, whatever station we hold in the Party that we are all struggling for the ideological unity of our Party.... CHILDS will....some recommendations from the committee.

MORRIS CHILDS:

Comrades, we in the Appeals Committee try to be impartial when possible and we usually say that we are not now discussing the policies of this or that committee, but lest the comrades get the idea that we are just a legal, impartial body, you would be wrong. I would say that we must consider the unity of the Party as a principle as LENIN taught us to approach all problems from that point of view.

First of all I would say that we agree with the following:

Whether or not a CP member can absolutely, unconditionally subordinate personal interest to the Party's interest under all circumstances is a criterion to which the test of loyalty to the Party, to the revolution and to the communist cause is put. And further by means of this....struggle we consolidate the Party and enhance its discipline and prestige...our organizational abilities to the incorrigible elements or expel them from the Party in order to assure the development and consolidation of our Party. This is the attitude which all good, true Party members should adopt.

NY 100-4931

In addition, in constantly sharpening our vigilance, we should on every occasion with respect to the occurrence by the Party reduce any other... which could possibly be used by the enemy. This is the bounden duty of every comrade who loves our Party. If in the course of inner Party struggle, a Party member ignores this point or is only concerned with victory in the immediate struggle and his own momentary gratification or if he does not detect the... from that area, but joins in with him, or if he utilizes forces that help from outside the Party, forces whose goal is an inner Party struggle, he will commit an unforgiveable political mistake in gross violation of Party discipline. Here are the cases and the decisions.

The Appeals Committee, after studying documents, records and hearing of witnesses makes the following recommendations to the Convention on four cases considered by the Committee: the Northern California case of E. B. (phonetic) and G. S. Their appeal has been rejected on the grounds that their constitutional rights were not violated as claimed and all actions including the function by the District Committee in July, 1959, confirmed by the District Convention in November, 1959, conformed with Party procedures. I do not want to burden you to quote from the Constitution, but there is ample provision, even in the old constitution to verify that this trial was correct and legal. These constitutional provisions gave the District Committee authority to be guided:.....

NY 100-4931

MORRIS CHILDS: (CONTINUING)

which suspended and later expelled T.B. and then G.S. be expelled together with people still in the Party violated the most elementary principles of Leninist forms of Party organization. They proceeded to organize themselves into anti-Party group having connections with national ramifications and ties with non-Party antagonistic elements in the Party.

In LOMAN's case, a series of disruptive activities inimical and dangerous to the Party. They disbanded Party clubs, issued leaflets as their in mass organizations and acting to the detriment of the Party. This group, so involved in factionalism resorted to the worst slanders of the district committee, even going so far as to charge a similarity between the trial of T.B. and G.S. and the justice, to quote, meted out to the Negro for the course of HITLER tactics. With this horrible distortion they denied the legality of the trial committee.

Therefore, we further recommend that those comrades now in the Party still involved in this factionalism be and completely break up all connections with this factional group and put themselves at the disposal of the Party. If this decision is not complied with, we recommend that the district committee take whatever steps are necessary to eradicate factionalism by relation to Party norms and discipline.

I move that you endorse this recommendation of the Appeals Committee on this case.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Comrades, you have heard the report of the Appeals Committee and the motion before you has been seconded. Is there any discussion? Are you ready for the question? Alright, all those in favor of the motion will signify by raising their cards. Down, please. All those opposed will raise your cards. One. Oh, I'm sorry. All those opposed. None. Are there any abstentions, please?

NY 100-4931

UNMALE: Yes, one.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Alright, the secretary will please note it. Are there any others? That's what we asked for. Comrades, the next case -

MORRIS CHILDS: We have a very short motion but I think it will require a few words of explanation. We state in our recommendation that the Essex County, New Jersey, case as reported to us in appeal is being rejected. Now for the benefit of the convention, comrades, for a number of years now in New Jersey there were a number of comrades organized in a group. This case was before our last convention. I remember at that time a member of the Appeals Committee spent a few days on that case. Afterwards, the committee met again numerous times with these comrades. More than that, the NEC of our Party at that time added a member of the NEC to our Appeals Committee to travel to New Jersey and we got together with the members of the state committee and these comrades, who were not in the Party at that time, and we worked out five proposals. After spending an entire day discussing these proposals these comrades had agreed that they would disband, that they would come back to the Party and become a part of the New Jersey organization.

In a certain sense we leaned backward in that case, despite all laws of discipline, because we figured that because of the liquidationist activities, perhaps these comrades would justify in the way they behaved violated every possible principle of Party organization. These comrades violated this agreement which they signed two days after the Appeals Committee left New Jersey and the comrades in the district were never able to integrate them in the work, they never did that in their group.

Now they are appealing again to this convention. We are acquainted with this case because some of the

NY 100-4931

members of the Appeals Committee are on this present convention Appeals Committee. Therefore, we recommend rejection of their appeal.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Comrades, the motion has been seconded. Is there a discussion?

UNMALE: What is it they want that we are rejecting?

MORRIS CHILDS: Their appeal is very general. Here, I'll read you the short note - "Best wishes for a successful convention, may it speed in marking a turn in improving the mass work and ties of our Party, and in proving the Communist Party is militant in these mass struggles. We take this opportunity to renew our appeal to the National Convention and to the National Committee to act to reunite the Party in our county and state, Essex, New Jersey. We hope this convention and the incoming national leadership will finally resolve this case." Comrades, we resolved this case.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Ready for the question? All those in favor will signify by raising their cards. Down please. Anybody opposed? None. Abstentions? None. Okay - sorry, one abstention.

MORRIS CHILDS: Comrades, we have an appeal from Comrade HARRY HAYWOOD, who claims that he is not out of the Party. We considered this question and we consider HARRY HAYWOOD being out of the Party and we reject his appeal.

If the comrades will remember in September of 1958, a group formed outside the Party called the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard. And one of the officers of that group

NY 100-4931

was none other than HARRY HAYWOOD. And there is a statement by him on the front page of the first issue about him

.....

Just prior to some sort of a meeting of this anti-Party group, the NEC adopted a statement in which they warned the comrades affiliated with this group that they will ring themselves out of the Party if they go to this particular meeting. Well, HARRY HAYWOOD not only went, he was elected an officer in this organization. We've given consideration to this problem and we reject the appeal of HARRY HAYWOOD.

If HARRY HAYWOOD wants to reapply for membership in the Party, that's another matter, he can do so but we're not talking about the future.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Comrades, you've heard the proposal from the committee regarding HARRY HAYWOOD, is there a second? (From floor - second the motion). Is there a discussion?

UNFEMALE: I have a question. (question inaudible)

MORRIS CHILDS: Comrades, we don't know whether HARRY HAYWOOD went to another meeting or not. I don't know - no one else knows. But we do have documents and letters and indications from all sorts of people throughout the country. I don't know if he went to another meeting or not. We only considered the facts that were before us.

NY 100-4931

UNFEMALE:first of all, we have a statement from HARRY HAYWOOD at this time as a of the Party. Secondly, is it true that HARRY HAYWOOD sent a letter to the National Committee immediately following this meeting of the Vanguard Group disassociating himself with it and saying he wanted to remain in the Party.

MORRIS CHILDS: We have a couple of letters from HARRY HAYWOOD. Some of them were sent to friends, some of them were sent to the Party. The last letter that we have only claims that he is still a member of the Party that somebody collected dues from him. HARRY HAYWOOD at the present moment is not in the country. We couldn't question him, we couldn't talk to him. We only acted on the basis of the facts that we had before us. He has not given us his position on the Party and it is not so that he disassociated himself from the group. They had a split in that group but this was some weeks afterward, after they were formed. HARRY HAYWOOD was the chairman of this group when they published the first issue of the paper.

UNMALE: I have no objection to the proposal except that I feel that a figure as well known as HARRY HAYWOOD can't be treated as casually as this question seems to be handled. I think our article explained our position. I think this is important for our work in Negro work. HARRY HAYWOOD is a very well known person and was for many many years a great influence in the Negro work, and there is a need for the Negro Commission of this committee - for making our position clear.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: It should not necessarily be inferred that the briefness of the report doesn't necessarily mean that the report was treated casually. That doesn't mean that.

NY 100-4931

MORRIS CHILDS:was not handled casually. We know that HARRY HAYWOOD was one of the leaders of the anti-Party movement and we should deal with him in the same way that we dealt with other movements. HARRY HAYWOOD was one of the leaders of this movement and it has been proved that he was. Therefore, this committee should act in a way that it acted in other like cases.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: We can't forget that this body don't have too much time and I'm going to have one more for and one more against on this and that will be it.

UNMALE: (calls to the Chair)

CHAIRMAN BROWN: For or against?

UNMALE: Against.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Alright - go ahead.

UNMALE: I am for the report of the Committee. Comrades, because you are Negro -- when it comes to violating the rules of the Party, there is absolutely noabsolutely none and I don't want to get emotional about this thing, but because of his intelligence, his leadership, his responsibilities were more the greatest. our Party in Harlem I think we should take the necessary action. I also agree that if he wants to rejoin the Party, that we take up that question later. But as of now, (inaudible).

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Anybody against the proposal? No one. Are you ready for the question?

NY 100-4931

UNMALE: Question.

UNFEMALE: Yes, I am opposed to the proposal of the committee. I hold no brief for the Vanguard Group and I hold no brief for the position that HARRY HAYWOOD took; however, I want to say that HARRY HAYWOOD is not the only one who violated the discipline of this Communist Party. We have people sitting on the platform who did a lot of things that if we had good self-criticism in our Party, would get up here and say things that would help us to clear up a lot of questions in the Party.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Order, order. Let us be in order.

UNFEMALE (CONTINUING): to the National Committee and I have gotten no reply from them. The National Committee received a letter from HARRY HAYWOOD one week after the meeting of that national convening of the Vanguard Group stating that he made a mistake and that he wanted to remain a member of the Party. Now the National Committee did not deny receiving that letter, and I think those of you who have made no mistakes on this point can vote on this question. But the rest of us have to realize that in the spirit of unifying this Party, we want all comrades who can really do something to unify and build the Party to be in the Party. We want them in and not just the revisionists and some of them who are here today. And I say, comrades, that we should vote down this proposal and hear the appeal of HARRY HAYWOOD. And if he is not in the country, let us defer it and wait until he gets here to hear him.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: The chair wishes to point out that we are voting only on the question of HARRY HAYWOOD and not anybody else at the present moment. Alright,

NY 100-4931

all those in favor of upholding the decision of the committee will raise their cards. Down please. All those opposed. One? Any others? 14 opposed.

MORRIS CHILDS: Comrades, the Appeals Committee has before it a letter from CHARLIE LOMAN which is not an appeal but the letter was given to us. It is really a letter addressed to the New York State Committee so the Appeals Committee recommends that this letter be referred back to the New York State Committee and that we do not consider it as an appeal.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: The proposal is to refer it back to the New York State Committee.

UNMALE: Second.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Any discussion? Any questions? Those in favor raise their cards. Down please. Any opposed? So ordered.

MORRIS CHILDS: Comrades, according to the constitution, we are supposed to receive a report on the state of the finances of the Party. I want to say that these financial statements have been audited by a comrade who is well known to you and quite dependable and reputable. Although he knows me, he has no Certified CPA. He is not a CPA. Now, during this process up until recently, we would work with the comrade and a subcommittee would go over the audit of the auditor. But I want to tell you that the Appeals and Audit Committee could not go into all the details of finance. All we could do was read the reports and depend on the past audit. So I would say that while it is called an audit, I consider it audit information. And here is the audit since the last convention.

NY 100-4931

In 1957, we had a total income of \$196,079.78. The bookkeeper made it balance but left us with an accumulated deficit at the end of 1957 of \$1,844.99.

In 1958, we had a total income, - if you will notice, quite a drop -, of \$133,832.73. Expenditures of \$131,361.41. And a deficit of \$2,471. (questioning from the floor). That is because they have got two kinds of deficits. One is called an operative deficit. Excuse me, Comrades, we have got a surplus! I should have said a surplus. We have a surplus of \$2,471.32.

Now, as far as 1959 is concerned, we only have the first nine months of the year. The report was not finished and we were not able to finish it. All I can tell you is that the income for the first nine months was \$92,812.55 and the balance sheet just says that we have a surplus of net worth amounting to \$2,489.14. But the total liabilities and surplus are \$11,018.96.

But there is one very important fact in this situation, comrades! That the income from dues has fallen and the per capita dues rate is lower than it used to be. For example: Last year, we used to average \$1.21 per member as income on dues. The first nine months of 1959 this has been reduced to one dollar and a fraction of a cent - a sixth of a cent. This is a very serious problem and the fall of income, of course, you will have figured out for yourself, is due chiefly to the fall in dues payments and party membership.

Well comrades, I repeat that while we would audit these books month by month, up until the recent period we have not been able to keep up with it as far as the Appeals and Auditing Committee is concerned. We were only able to check and go over these figures. But since I was on the other auditing committee, they will supply some additional information. Of course, my talks with Comrade DIRBA, who is responsible for the audit on a day to day basis.

NY 100-4931

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Comrades, you have heard the report from the Appeals and Auditing Committee on the audit of the Party's finances. What is your pleasure?

UNMALE: I move we accept the report.

UNMALE: Second.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: All those in favor will signify by raising their cards. Down. Anybody opposed?

UNMALE: I move that this convention dissolve the Appeals and Auditing Committee.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Wait. He had the floor.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE: I asked the committee to make a report on one case. I ask that you do not dissolve it until the report has been made. Comrades, I have no objection to the action of this committee, in fact, I am very happy about it. But I believe it is of such a nature that the Appeals Committee, which is the discipline committee of the Party, should have called it to the attention of the comrades. That is the case of MAX BEDACHT.

I wrote a letter to the Appeals Committee asking them to change the previous position in regard to MAX BEDACHT. I want to tell you very briefly about this case because it is such a glaring, flaunting of democracy, such a shameful mistreatment that we ought to stigmatize it for all time. MAX BEDACHT is a man of 75, in the socialist movement since 1902, one of the founders of the Party, and one who held positions including secretarial - national

NY 100-4931

positions - in the Party. He was expelled ten years ago in New Jersey particularly under the influence of STEIN and MARTHA STONE. Because he took issue on the WALLACE question at a convention of the Party and then stated his position before the club but did not make it an issue within the Party, he was denounced for his objection, declared that he was in opposition to the leadership, declared that he was an enemy of the Party, and he was expelled.

Subsequently, and this is important, his wife was asked to disassociate herself from him. She refused to do it and was expelled. His daughter was asked to disassociate and was expelled. His son-in-law was asked to disassociate and was expelled. And so he remained out of the Party.

In 1950, he appealed to the 15th convention on his case and his case was not taken up.

Now comrades, two remarks on that. You do not ask anybody to disassociate a member of the family in matters of political controversy except when you are dealing with stool-pigeons. Secondly, you do not treat people who have differences on questions of policy as enemies and treat them as such. I ask therefore the Appeals Committee what it did in the matter. I spoke to MAX BEDACHT. I believe that on certain questions, he is fuzzy. Even when you are in the Party you get fuzzy. When you are out, you get worse.

He wrote a book. He wants to get the record straight.

I have asked him whether he will come into the Party. He said he would meet with the committee of the Party to discuss the matter. I do not know whether he should or should not. Therefore, I recommend it to the Appeals Committee to talk with the comrade. But to nullify this decision and to remember it in regard to all similar cases.

NY 100-4931

MORRIS CHILDS: The case of MAX BEDACHT came up before the old Appeals Committee. And the old Appeals Committee after Comrade LIGHTFOOT brought it to our attention and Comrade PAT TOOHEY acted on this case. And we declared in one of our sessions unanimously that the expulsion of Comrade BEDACHT was null and void and we took into consideration all the things that presented before you today. But we deferred action to the new committee in order to meet with Comrade BEDACHT and ask him whether he wanted to rejoin, what else he had to say, et cetera. When we did declare his motion null and void but it was not a convention of appeals committee cases and this is why it was not reported to you.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: Okay, now motion is to discharge the committee with thanks by this convention. All those in favor will signify by raising their cards. Down please. Anybody opposed. So ordered. Now comrades, we will have (interrupted).

UNMALE: There is one opposed.

CHAIRMAN BROWN: You have already the motion distributed to you, GUS HALL's opening remarks for your information. Alright, you will get it. Comrades, I want to give the floor to Comrade BEN DAVIS and he has something very important to tell you. BEN!

NY 100-4931

BEN DAVIS:

Our convention is a very rare convention.

As you know, it was announced that a fraternal representative from one of our Latin American Parties came to this country to be present at our convention. And in the course of his shopping around New York, he was run into by an automobile in a very unfortunate accident and had to go to the hospital where he has been now for several days.

But, true to this comrade's fortitude and staunch determination, self-sacrifice, he has gotten up from his bed and he is here to be with us and greet us.

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NY 100-4931

Chairman BROWN: This is comrade JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, the President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

In our greetings to him, we express our brotherly and fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, to its - - -, we express our feelings of proletarian internationalism; especially with all of our brother parties of Puerto Rico and all the Latin American countries, we express our love, our warmth, our affection and our determination to revitalize the work of our Party in this field in fighting for the liberation of the peoples of Puerto Rico, Cuba and all the Latin American countries.

Comrades, I have the honor to give to you, Comrade JUAN SANTOS RIVERA. He does not speak English so his speech will be translated by JESUS COLON.

JUAN SANTOS RIVERA: (Delivers talk in Spanish)

JESUS COLON: (translation) Dear Comrades I bring you the most cordial salutations and a message from the Puerto Rican Communist Party and from the Puerto Rican people who struggle against U.S. imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Replying to a fraternal invitation from the Communist Party of the United States to this great convention, I left Puerto Rico December the 9th. I think it is my duty to explain to you the cause of my impossibility to be present at this convention.

On December 9th, I sent a cablegram to a comrade to meet me at the airport, stating the date and number of the flight. This cablegram was delivered one day after I arrived. For that reason the comradewas, of course, not at the airport. So I decided to come to New York from the

AWM:jco
(2)

NY 100-4931

COLON: airport myself. When I left the taxi in front of the building where my sister lives, a car, a drunken driver hit me, throwing me to the sidewalk. I was unconscious for about half an hour. It might be that in all this there is the hand of American imperialism to prevent me from being at your convention. I think that this explains the cause of my accident.

No matter the physical conditions which have prevented me to be with you I have received information today that the magnificent work being done at this convention will facilitate the orientation, organization, mobilization of the working masses of this great nation for the struggles for the immediate interests of coexistence and a lasting peace.

I want to inform you that the Puerto Rican people are awakening from the inertia caused by American imperialism for so long a time. - - - - are persons who struggle against imperialistic exploitation and oppression - - in the city of Ponce in the independence congress, 1,323 delegates were present. A national - - -, the movement for independence of Puerto Rico was organized at that congress. In that congress, we had too, a wide program of orientation, organization and mobilization of independence and anti-colonial forces to fight for the right of our people to constitute a free and democratic republic of Puerto Rico.

This movement will be a very great contribution to the people of the United States, to the rest of Latin American people, who are struggling against American imperialism and war, and for a lasting peace. This struggle requires at the same time the solidarity of the North American people. The Latin American people are international proletariats.

AWM:jco
(3)

NY 100-4931

My best wishes for the success of your struggles and your convention. Thank you very much.

Chairman BROWN: Comrades, in order to say Gracias in a collective way, I want to introduce a comrade to respond in a few words. This comrade is the Chairman of our Party in New Jersey, a member of our outgoing National Committee and the head of the Latin American Commission at this convention. I want to introduce Comrade PAT TOOHEY to respond and to make a gift to Comrade JUAN SANTOS RIVERA.

PAT TOOHEY: On behalf of the delegates at this convention and representing the sentiments and feelings of every member of our Party, and going on beyond that, representing the esteem and the affection of all progressive Americans, we are all deeply moved to welcome to our convention today our beloved comrade SANTOS RIVERA, whose fortitude and Communist determination has decided nothing shall prevent him from attending our convention.

We American communists have closest fraternal and Marxist relations with our valiant comrades in Puerto Rico and if we will try to understand that the enemy which degrades the Puerto Rican people, is that imperialism which also degrades and fights our own workers and our own people, and it is with the deepest bond of understanding and sympathy that the struggle of these people of Puerto Rico to attain the status of free people is understood and reacted to by every liberty-loving American. The - - - - violence against the people of Puerto Rico by American imperialists to the shame of our country is one of the most brutal against any people in our history.

We of the Communist Party, like other progressive

AWM:jrc

(4)

Americans, shall continue to heed and respond to the cry of the democratic and patriotic people of Puerto Rico to help them in their fight against actual genocide and to help them in their valiant struggle against enslavement as a colony of our imperialism. And in our forthcoming report to the convention, we have the hope of striving to place the former comrades - this is a question of national honor and a test of the integrity of not only every Communist, but through these efforts to influence the source of our nation in the direction of helping to achieve the independence of the people of Puerto Rico and to realize the possibility of self-determination for them.

Comrade JUAN, it is with a spirit of the deepest emotion that we greet you and welcome you and tell you to transmit to our fighting comrades and brothers, the island of Puerto Rico, our resolve and our determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with your Party and your comrades and your people in the achievement of those common objectives. And on behalf of this convention, I will express the sentiment of the delegates by presenting to Comrade SANTOS and to our Puerto Rican comrades this wonderful bouquet of flowers to further express how we feel about his attendance at the convention here today. And to comrade SANTOS all we can say further is (lapses into Spanish).

Chairman BROWN: (Mentions a comrade left a folder #175 on a table.) An early adjournment for lunch is proposed. It is now 12:25. Motion approved. To return at 1:15.

(Morning session adjourned at 12:25 p.m.)

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(5)

NY 100-4931

Afternoon Session
December 13, 1959

NY T-1 advised that this session convened at 2:15 p.m. Comrade NAT. (ROSENBLUTH) from New York was selected Chairman of the session. The Chairman announced that the first order of business was a report from the Latin-American Affairs Committee, PAT TOOHEY, Chairman.

PAT TOOHEY: Comrades, the arrival of Comrade SANTOS this morning was rather unexpected. The comrades of the Presiding Committee had no time to prepare a suitable presentation to him. That is why we did the best we could and just to say that such a suitable and more tangible form of help and presentation will be prepared and given to him.

The committee has a short report to make followed by some remarks by Comrade NORTH. The committee was composed of Comrades from NY, New England, New Jersey, and Southern California and received considerable assistance from Comrades COLON, JOE NORTH, and TRACHTENBERG. Its work is partially due to the pressures of time but we present to this convention two resolutions which are before you for your consideration: a resolution on Cuba and a resolution on Puerto Rico. I will refer to these resolutions, but the report asks for the approval of the convention and the adoption of these resolutions.

The committee proposes three motions to the incoming National leadership of the Party which time does not allow to defining much further. We have to establish a self-criticism of our lag in the attention to and the development of this work up to now, and one of the basic causes has been the lack of a strong subcommittee of the National Committee guiding and developing this activity. The motion

AWM:jrc
(6)

NY 100-4931

is that the National Committee be obligated to create such a committee as one of its first orders of business.

Secondly, there is before the Convention a resolution on the Mexican-American workers of the southwest prepared and presented by the comrades of Southern California. The resolution is considered to be the basis of our work in many respects. We ask for a ---- of it with the further suggestion that the National Committee try to arrange a Party conference in the southwest dealing with this phase of our work.

The third motion, which time does not allow to bring here in a finished form. We wanted to bring to the convention the draft of an appeal by this convention to the conscience of the American people to give solidarity and support to the struggles of the people now developing in Latin-America. And we believe that such an appeal should be prepared with the struggle of national liberation washing our own shores and requiring such assistance that the people of our country have certain responsibilities, and for a few moments we would try to establish what these responsibilities are. For example, the Secretary of Commerce, a Mr. MUELLER, a political ignoramus if not a biological miscarriage, issued a statement the other day to tell the American people what is the situation in Latin-America. He characterized it as nothing but a bunch of murderers running around interested in nothing but grabbing American property. What is it? It is this, that there is a tremendous national liberation struggle sweeping the water in our hemisphere, scurrying -- and going as far as the --. It even embraces the peoples of over 20 Latin-American nations and several colonial countries there.

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

This is a vast people's movement and it merits the sympathy and sole support of the people of the U.S. whose leading support and solidarity is our obligation. As LENIN stressed to us, it is the political responsibility of the workers in the imperialist countries to give extra support to the colonial and semi-colonial people who are oppressed by their capitalist class, and today this is a task and duty of the most urgent necessity. Our Party, our leadership and our membership, and many progressive Americans, have a record marked with deep devotion and self-sacrifice in mobilizing workers and support of the workers of other countries. By a --- time our attention to this has --- and has reached some points of actual neglect and unless I would appear sanctimonious I ask the state chairman and the district --- and honor to represent is no better in this respect than many others.

The theme of this convention is the fight to win peace, but this cannot be a reality unless the people of the U. S. understand the meaning of and instantly respond to, with the aid, to the embattled peoples of Cuba and of Latin-America because, contrary to Mr. MUELLER, theirs is a fight for national freedom, for solidarity, for social advance, and for peace. Nor can there hardly be world peace if in our own hemisphere there is a menace of war and a suppression of people engendered by our own imperialism.

And this is because of a matter of national order and in the self-interest of our nation, and, for every Communist, a task of the highest responsibility to respond instantly in the effort to arouse American public opinion in the support of the struggles of the Latin-American people. This support in Latin-America assumes very wide and influential forms but in our country is most unsatisfactory; unsatisfactory because of the lack of understanding of the nature of it. And if we understand that the character of

AEM:jrc

NY 100-4931

the present movement there is that proper revolutionary resistance to American imperialism, the response would change, particularly the Cuban revolution which has given a new quality and content to this anti-imperialist development, if we understand that it is a movement against generations of bitter poverty and its exploitation imposed by our own U. S. imperialism. It is not --- to once and for all end the pilferage of their national wealth and their provable dictatorships which --- wealth for the monopolists and their local "stooges", but which in turn gave to the people an economic backwardness, colonial bondage, subhuman working and living conditions, illiteracy, disease, and cultural degradation. They are now rising and brilliantly fighting with an unparalleled degree of unity and dedication for relief from the strangling yoke of American imperialism, and for economic and political independence, and for human dignity, and for a world at peace. And this is consistent with the self-interest of the people of our country, for a free industrially developed Latin-America people with good living standards for its people benefits the working and their movements in our country.

The "New York Times", frightened, says that what is in Latin America is something like a fire-control board, flashing with "red-warning lights" and when that comes alive there are danger signs of deep unrest, that democracy is in the air and so is social revolution. That is true, but the danger signs are to the criminals whom Wall Street has installed in many countries in Latin-America. They have already succeeded in toppling a number of them and for a few remaining the bells are tolling louder for their overthrow. But what a stain on the honor of this country that the Administration spends millions of dollars on military missions to TRUJILLO whose aim is to invade Cuba and to set the Caribbean aflame with reactionary war. And what degradation it is for our own

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

country that American cops shott down Panamanian patriots who made several requests to respect their national honor and for self-rule over their own soil.

I have spoken earlier of Puerto Rico in this respect but greater is the shame that the voice of the people and labor movement of our country seems muted and --- and lethargic to this. More is the pity that there should be such passivity to such events as we have not seen before in our lifetime, and you can see too what a tragedy it is that our people do not yet seem to have the simple realization that the hopes and aspirations of the world people are identical with ours. The interests are mutual, the enemy is one. Both cherish liberty and the consequences of the defeat of one will be shared by both for there cannot be peace and social progress here in the U. S. if we permit our government to be used as a reactionary Goliath with fire and sword to bring death and destruction and tyranny to neighbors who after long years of oppression want only to obtain the status of free human beings. The victory of the workers and the farmers of Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, and Argentina in toppling the U. S. imperialist supported dictatorship is a victory for the common people of our own country. Any possible return of those dictatorships our people in their own self interest must help to prevent. It is the same monopolies which oppress the people of Puerto Rico which try to destroy democratic liberties, instigate war, menace the unions here, and shackle the people of their own country with repressive laws.

The Latin-American people, despite Mr. MUELLER, have no animosity toward the people of our country and they look upon our people as brothers in a common cause, but they do differentiate between the people of the U. S. and exploiters against whom we both fight. They

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

are truly incensed at the support given to the hated dictators. They are aware of the role of our State Department in organizing the overthrow of the democratic government of Guatemala and they received Mr. NIXON accordingly. But at the same time, for them Americans/^{such} as a WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, a GUS HALL, a BENJAMIN DAVIS, or an American working man or farmer, they receive as other Americans and welcome them as brothers.

In India yesterday, President EISENHOWER declared that the U. S. is for supporting its real friends. They have the ~~-----~~ expression but it should be the king, for FRANCISCO FRANCO is not our friend but --- a free man, and should not be entitled to the dignity of a visit by the President of this country. TRUJILLO is not our friend but is a cancer he imposed upon the people of the Caribbean. The true friends of our country are heroic Latin-American people who now more than anytime deserve the support of our country in their fight to attain national liberation, and it becomes our task to help aggressively, reverse the conception of who are our friends and should be supported -- the common people of our country today ----- they test our integrity and honor.

Cuba, where the revolution shook the foundation of our hemisphere, now faces a deadly and immediate danger. As the resolution indicates, only two days ago the commander of the Cuban Military Forces prophesied an invasion of Cuba by the first of the year. And the question has to be looked at bluntly: will this danger be responded to or will the world with an apathy cause the world to possibly suffer another Guatemala or another Republican Spain? A mercenary army financed by Washington and composed of BATISTA and TRUJILLO cut-throats, and former Nazi officers are assembled and

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

trained for such invasion. And when TRUJILLO moves it will be the signal for a combined assault manipulated by American imperialism which is resolved to erase this infectious revolutionary flame in Latin-America. For from last New Years Day when Cuba was reborn, it has encountered the hostility, sabotage and provocative forays intended to destroy it. Counter-revolutionary forces, led by our imperialism, have conspired militarily, politically, and economically to destroy Cuba for they are determined, if they may, to erase those advances which are propelling other Latin-American people toward doing these things. But despite this, Cuban unity of farmers and workers has strength and this enemy must move before that unity reaches the stage where it will forever make impossible the return of those forces to power.

It is in this sense that the very fate of our hemisphere lies in the fate of revolutionary Cuba. Instead of pursuing a policy of friendship and support to the new Cuba, the EISENHOWER Administration is trying to strangle it. The State Department, the Pentagon and FBI are actively plotting an overthrow, an imposition upon the Cuban people of a new government subservient to the U. S. sugar monopoly and financial trusts. - - - - use our soil from Florida without interruption or restraint to bomb and strafe Havana, and then is welcomed to Washington as a returning hero, as a -- stool- pigeon before the Congressional committees. The Administration has poured millions of dollars behind BATISTA but refuses one cent to help the new Cuba to improve its economy. Our administration further refuses to sell Cuba any planes to defend itself and puts a blockade on any other nations who are willing to do it.

Our Department of Justice, radio, TV, capitalist newspapers hop into a rage when BATISTA murders our --- and sentence in Cuba, but they have no tears to shed for

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

a MACK PARKER, a ROBERT TILL, or object to Little Rock, or --- punishment of honored Americans like GREEN, WINSTON, THOMPSON, SOBELL and hundreds of others who were harassed and their liberties -- Smith Act and others. But now they are trying to create a collapse of Cuba from within by an attack upon its economy. And as we know, Cuba rests heavily upon its sugar to back up tourism. Day before yesterday Mr. HERTER openly threatened the Cuban people that the coming session of Congress may be expected to take up the sugar quota for a possible downward revision, and he also openly said punitive action against the Cuban people is not excluded. At the same time several large steamship companies which carry thousands of tons to Cuba have momentarily cancelled it as a port of call in an effort to destroy its tourist industry.

A terrible blow will fall upon our democratic people if we in the U. S. remain passive to these efforts to bring Cuba to her knees. For Cuba now fights for her life as a nation of free people and against a threat of a direct open intervention, inspired and led by our own reactionary U. S. forces. "Hands off Cuba" is a slogan of urgent and -- meaning at the present time. And it needs translation into countless concrete and immediate acts of support and solidarity. Our resolution tries to indicate some of them. Now impressive democratic forces in Latin-America are responding and it is our task to strive to increase this support here. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (ph) has issued an urgent call to all national trade union centers and their affiliates to respond at once with aid and support to Cuba. And our AF of L, CIO, and local labor movements, and other organizations certainly can do no less. It is our obligation to carry out American public opinion and appeal to the conscience of the people of this

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

country to bring that support to the people of Cuba and all Latin-America.

And if our Party, Comrades, is animated with a political understanding of this situation and deeply imbued with the working class spirit of internationalism, we will be able to defend our own people in the form of defending our Latin-American brothers, and, together with our Communist comrades in Latin-America, together make effective contributions to the winning of peace, security, and Socialism in our hemisphere.

I move the adoption of the motion and the report of the convention committee on this subject.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The first motion is to adopt the three motions, and the report. Is there a second? It is seconded.

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NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Next a speech by Comrade NORTH.

JOE NORTH: Delegates, before interruption on this extremely vital question, I wish to address you as one who just came back from Cuba in pursuit of my journalistic duties. I had the privilege of going to Cuba for my newspaper twice this year, the first of the year of this revolution. Perhaps no other newspaper in this country has had that opportunity and this is the kind of truths about Cuba that my newspaper has. For that reason, it was probably the intention of the Eastland Committee to subpoena me to appear before it Monday of this week. It is one of life's contradictions and ironies that I had about 3 hours before the Eastland Committee on Cuba that I didn't ask for and I find it is difficult to get 15 minutes before this body ---.

I want to say the following. It was amazing to me as a newspaperman of 30 years experience to go to Cuba this past week and to see the nation that has been described by every newspaper, radio, and television and every medium of communication -- as being in the state that they say it is. The contrast is like heaven from hell. You have there a country with a unity far beyond that you thought would be obtainable when you were there in January. Every segment of the country, the peasants, the workers, the intellectuals, are working for a new Cuba

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

in a way that inspires every honest visitor and that is doubtless one of the reasons that the ships will not land in Cuba. And this is a fact that --- tourist income that they had from previous years. They do not want the American people to know what has happened in that country this past year. And you will feel ten feet tall when you walk the streets of Havana, and you go to the countryside and you see what the peasants are doing.

There is too much for me to try to describe in these few minutes which are given for this subject, but I would like to dwell primarily on the land reform which is the heart and soul of the Cuban Revolution. --- Last year, a day or so after the revolution was successful, it was impossible to get to Santiago from Havana and Oriente except by plane. The train lines were torn up, the country was in a state of disequilibrium. It was difficult to transport goods and foodstuffs from the provinces to the capital and within just one year you've found the country zooming ahead in the following way. I went to Zone 7. Now land reform is divided by the INNA (ph) into some 17 different zones. Each zone is headed by one of the most experienced, tried, and honored members of the Cuban revolution. And here in Zone 7, I was warmly greeted by a man, a young man of 28-30 who was wearing a ~~scarf~~ and a big beard, a fellow about 5'10", brawny, stocky, but who, on the day of the revolution, the day BATISTA took power, had been on the land a good part of the time was in the cities. helping organize revolution, and then was, for the last two years, up in the mountains until he came down on the plains and took over. This is the type of man that was in charge of Zone 7 of the agrarian reform. Similar men are in charge in a sense of what, like in the first revolution in cold political ~~terms~~, he himself was not a farmer or an expert in the agrarian field but was quickly learning

RWM:jco

NY 100-4931

all the angles on it and using all of his team to work with him.

He had a man who graduated from the University of Havana, an agronomist. This agronomist chose several assistants, and the young Commandant had this team about him and all the knotty questions of land reform are referred to this group for their decision. And you have there an enormous respect on the part of the peasantry which I was able to see when I travelled around Zone 7 with this group in charge of this land reform. They took me, as an illustration, to a farm that was once owned up to a year ago by BATISTA's head of the lottery. It's a farm of about 4,500 acres called the Nena and you find there, it's about 10 miles south of Havana, you find most of it's put to sugar cane but part of the agrarian reform is the following. As a money crop mainly, sugar was imposed upon the Cuban people after the 1898 war and revolution. The ordinary means of subsistence like the growing of beans, onions, tomatoes, etc., they were covering them up for money crop. As a result they had to be imported from abroad, mainly, rice for example, from South Carolina, at prices we pay here in our land, while the Cuban, instead of raising his own, --- systemized. Part of the agrarian reform problem was to reinstitute a balanced agriculture. Now in miniature on this great farm, you could see what was happening all over the country.---- the honest truth, and those that came in at the turn of the century, they prevented the ---and this farm growing the necessities of life and ----- just what it belongs - sugar. Now, here on this farm of some 4500 acres, about 1500 of them were untilled and they were tilling them now. They were putting in the onions and the beans and the other foodstuffs, and putting them in and running this farm. Now all --- the basis there

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

were some 175 families working on this farm - the farmers themselves, the peasants, were getting two dollars and a half a day until they are on their own feet and the products begin to be sold by their communities.

Now these peasants on these farms - and one of them said to me he had been a volunteer in the army up in the mountains for the last two and a half or so but being a peasant he had asked if he could be released from the army to work on a farm. He brought over some other buddies of his who had done the same thing which the government is permitting to go back to work on the farms. Now I asked them, "how is life?" "How do you feel today since the revolution?" "What does it mean in terms of your living?" Well he said they have six children. "Before the revolution we never eat breakfast," he said. "Today we eat breakfast, we have three meals a day; before the revolution we had two meals a day and not enough at that. Before the revolution," he said, "we lived in a little *baija* (spanish)" It is a one room hut about the size, it wouldn't be much more than from here to the end of the platform - with thatched roof. Today on this farm the city workers of a nearby town had bought cement mixing machines which they had offered to the peasants of this farm and they were building homes of cement for these persons who before had never lived in anything but these one room "*baijas*" (ph). That I saw there in Cuba today.

Yes, it is too bad that I don't have time to multiply these various instances of the tempo which land reform is taking place. It has reached a rate far beyond that of any other country of Latin-America including Mexico's 1910 revolution. You have a new look in Cuba, the solidarity between the working

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

class and the peasantry, the unity of the peasantry. -- was able to leave the country and go abroad inasmuch as money to finance these -- tour and return with one hundred million dollars in credit from big countries - Britain, West Germany, Italy and from East Germany where they're buying up tractors to work their fields. These tractors are kept literally along the various farms of the zones involved and they are given to the peasants to work as they need them. There is something similar there to what you have read in other revolutions of recent years, which indicates that they have learned.

I'm going to deal with some other subject. When I was there at the Eastland Committee hearing, I said, among other things, that we in the United States could learn from what I had seen in Cuba. And I was challenged by Senator Hruska "What do you mean by that?"

I told him the following. I said, while I was still up in Arancas (ph) I saw various decrees including the Agrarian Reform Law, Law 3, Law 4, towards the question of the victory of the new government, the new Cuba, on the remnants of racism. I said I think that question is one that the United States could well examine because I think that you cannot deny, Senator, that we have some similar problems in our country. He was quite quiet about that because after all that is Eastland's Committee, you know.

And I said the following: When our United States can have a Negro as head of the armed forces, when our United States can have a Negro as head of the Air Force, can have a Negro as head of the Juvenile (ph) as in Oriente, when we have Negroes in similar posts in the United States, then I think we are beginning to learn something from Cuba.

AWM:jro

NY 100-4931

Now these are just a few things I saw in Cuba and in consideration of PATTERSON's eyes there I will tell you that the stories that are appearing in "The Worker" deal with these in greater detail so I don't have to -- your ear. You can borrow "The Worker" and get set for it and read all these things in there.

Now, one final word. January 1st is approaching. When the head of the Army, Navy and Air Force in the Cabinet, -- they all -- Castro, made the warning that they expect an effort to invade Cuba by January 1st, he was not just talking rhetoric. There had already been, let's not forget that, an effort to invade Cuba by air about three months ago which was halted, incidentally, if I had time to tell it, by the work of a United States volunteer in the army of liberation in Cuba. There is a magnificent story in that and I -- he was on TRUJILLO's side with the knowledge of the Cuban government and the effort was foiled at the last moment. Perhaps you read some small----of it.

Now January 1st is very near. The responsibility, as Comrade PAT told you, is great. I want to add mine. And I think that when we return to our districts, the resolution which was presented her, must be acted on at once because what I am describing to you is but a small part of this new Cuba which is sacred in the eyes of two hundred million Latin-Americans, sacred in the eyes of the entire colonial world, to the Socialist countries, and it must, and I know it is, to us too. But we must act upon it.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: We have before the house a motion of the committee to adopt the resolution and

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

the committee report. You have an amendment to this Comrade POTASH?

IRVING POTASH: I want to make this amendment, comrades, that we add to our efforts ---- and demands with regard to the Latin American people, demands of amnesty for a group what of we call Nationalists who... are today languishing in United States prisons on prison sentences. Some of us have met each Cuban Nationalist on our visits. As Communists we have little differences with them, but none of us can doubt the unselfish ----- to the national interests of the Puerto Rican people on the part of these prisoners .

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the motion. I am sure the committee has no objections to the inclusion of this amendment, so will hold the adoption of this amendment to the report - with the report. Are you ready for the question. All those in favor please show your cards. Down. Opposed, if any. Are there any abstentions. Adopted unanimously. Comrade HALL ready?

Comrade HALL is not yet ready with the
- oh! you're making the report, I'm
sorry. Comrade ELIZABETH will make the report on the elections.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: Comrades, before I proceed to give you the - you don't have to start to take notes at this minute. Before I proceed to give you the list of recommendations of the National Committee, you don't need to start taking notes at this minute because there is the name of one Comrade that is not on this list,

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

although needless to say this comrade was nominated by practically every delegation. The reason that we have taken it off the list is that we consider it is not necessary to place the name of this Comrade for election, but that by a unanimous and general acclamation -- Comrade WILLIAM Z. FOSTER will be elected Chairman Emeritus of the Communist Party of the United States.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There has been a motion to elect WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as Chairman Emeritus. Comrade ELMER from Washington has a seconding remarks.

ELMER (LNU): Comrade Chairman and Comrades. I want to second the nomination of Comrade FOSTER for Chairman Emeritus, and I would like to give you some reasons for that based on my recent experience in travelling in four countries in Europe. I went as a rank and file American worker to attend a conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in a country in Europe. After that conference was over I was a guest of the union of the country and was passed on to three more countries as a guest of the unions. In all the countries I visited, I was asked by the workers in the plants I visited, how is Comrade FOSTER? "How is he doing? Is the American Party living up to the leadership that Comrade FOSTER is giving to it?"

And so I would like to give as my reasons for seconding the nomination of Comrade FOSTER the feeling I received from the workers in the countries of Europe that Comrade FOSTER stands for fraternal solidarity of the working class of the world based on the leadership of the Soviet Union. And this is the kind of answer

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

that I gave, that this is the position that I fight for in my state of Washington in the Party and I think there are many other American comrades who are fighting for that position.

I think that one of the high points of this convention was the address by the Comrade from Puerto Rico, that when we see before us, comrades from other countries and hear from the activities of comrades in other countries that then the whole feeling of international solidarity becomes alive and we can see the full glory of the Communist movement of the world. I believe that Comrade FOSTER represents the strongest force in the American Party for a Party based solidly on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and a good solid organization - and united and determined that everybody follows out the Party program, that there is no reason for anybody to dissent or drag their feet when a program is adopted.

One further remark on the question of international solidarity. I was proud to be able to answer the question on what was my evaluation of the situation in Hungary - by saying that I associated myself with the position of Comrade FOSTER, - that I think that Comrade FOSTER's evaluation of the situation in Hungary was correct, that I can see no reason for any American Communist to feel that they have to slander the Soviet Union in order to talk about Socialism, or to have any derogatory remarks about the position of the Red Army in putting down the counter-revolution in Hungary. One further remark on the question of Comrade FOSTER's leadership in steel which is understood and honored by the workers of all countries. And I think that that's one of the big points of this convention, that we're going out from here to

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

carry forward the heritage of Comrade FOSTER's leadership in steel and to rally the support of the American working class to the steel workers in their struggle to save their union. That's all.

One final point, that at the end of my tour of Germany I was presented the pin of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic. This is a fairly rare occasion when a visitor of another country is presented a party pin. And I would like to see that this pin is given to Comrade FOSTER in my name and as representing a gift from the workers of the German Democratic Republic.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the nomination and seconding remarks for Comrade WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as Chairman Emeritus. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor will you please show cards. Down. Opposed, if any. Any abstentions? There is one abstention - one abstention.

Unfemale: Comrades --

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: No - Not you.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: Comrades, we realize that a problem arose in relation to some members of delegations who have to leave on account of going to work in the morning. It is our recommendation that the rule applies in this situation that the remaining delegates cast the vote of the whole delegation, dividing it among them so that it's taken care of, and I so move.

AWM:jco

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: That motion - I didn't hear the motion.

FLYNN: That the remaining delegation cast the votes.
Yes.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the motion of the Presiding Committee that in the case where parts of delegations have to leave, that the entire vote of the delegation be cast by those delegates who remain so that each delegation can cast it's full vote in the elections. You have heard that motion, is there a second?

(Seconds from audience.)

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Are you ready for the question?
any All those in favor please show cards.
Are there/opposed? Any abstentions? Carried.

UnFemale: Mr. Chairman, I understand that my vote was not
an abstention --

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: It was not your vote --

UnFemale: On Comrade FOSTER's vote.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: It was not your vote.

UnFemale: I distinctly would not --

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: It was somebody near you, but it was
not your vote.

AEM:Jco

NY 100-4931

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: I'm sure that I don't need to explain, Comrades, that the reason that I didn't make a very lengthy speech in nominating Comrade FOSTER. is that words not only fail me, but it seemed to me entirely unnecessary and in that spirit and only in that sense and I was very happy that a comrade from the State of Washington made the seconding because I met Comrade FOSTER 50 years ago in the State of Washington and we have worked together ever since.

Now to business. I will read to you the list of the preferred nominations on the general list submitted to you by the Presiding and Nominations Committee. And after I have read the preferred list, then I will read the additional names that are that list. We were instructed to prepare a list of 25 preferred.

I will try to go slow if you want to write it down but of course it will be on the ballot. However, you may want to for consultation and further nominations, etc.

AWM:mbb
(1)

NY 100-4931

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: (reads) EUGENE DENNIS, GUS HALL, JAMES JACKSON, HY LUMER, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, ELIZABETH FLYNN, JACK STACHEL, IRVING POTASH, PHIL BART, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, HERBERT APTHEKER, JAMES ALLEN, JESUS COLON, AL RICHMOND, HELEN ALLISON (WINTER), PETTIS PERRY, ARNOLD JOHNSON, GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT, DANNY (QUEEN), youth from Chicago, and DANNY (RUBIN), youth from Philadelphia, WILL WEINSTONE, ERIC BERT, GEORGE MEYERS, and the two were tied for the 25th post. So we will bring you both names and you will have to make some decision in this problem.

UNKNOWN MALE: But that is only 23 names.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: Let me check quickly (again reads the list). Well fellow comrades, oh! my error. It is listed below the listings. WILLIAM PATTERSON. The two that are tied are SI GERSON and DEL (DELMAR BERG) from Northern California.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the nominations that came out of the Nominating and Presiding Committee.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: There are more nominations. The state nominations are going to be read by Comrade

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: We are not discussing the state, we are talking about the 25 at-large. The nominations but not the vote.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: I never did this before so you will have to pardon me, comrades. There is always a first time at any age. We will now take

AWM:mbb
(2)

NY 100-4931

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (Continued)

those who did not get the preferential vote but are on the general list. JOHN HELLMAN, BILL (HOSEA HUDSON), from the South, [REDACTED] JOE NORTH, GEORGE MORRIS, MILFORD S. (SUTHERLAND), NATE (SHARPE).

b6
b7c

UNKNOWN MALE: Where, what state?

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN: MILFORD is from Washington.
NATE is from Chicago. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is from Chicago. BILL is from the South and JOHN HELLMAN is from Southern California.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You heard the list from the Nominating and Presiding Committee: 25 recommended candidates plus the additional candidates who entered into it. On the question.

(An inaudible proposal was made from the floor.)

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The proposal from the floor is that we hear also the nominations from the districts so that we can consider the whole question.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: I would like to know why BILL from our district

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I think it best you hold that until we discuss the report.

AWM:mbb

(3)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER: This is a list of nominees as submitted by districts together with some additional nominations in some districts that were made by members of the Presiding Committee. In dealing with the at-large list and the national list, we ran into a number of duplications where comrades were nominated both from districts and the list at-large. What was decided by the committee was that all names would be submitted for a vote. Those who secured enough votes to be on the preferred list would remain and would be taken off the district list. Those who did not and were also nominated on the district list would have their names transferred to that and would not appear simultaneously on the national list.

This does not limit comrades in any way from making nominations from the floor. This was what the committee thought was the most feasible way of handling it.

I would like to present now the names as we have them by districts and I will give you in each district how many are to be elected. First I will read off the list of preferred candidates as indicated by the districts and secondly any other candidates which there are.

New York:



NAT (ROSENBLUTH)

LOUIS WEINSTOCK

b6
b7C

AWM:mbb

(4)

NY 100-4931

LUMER (continued)

MORT (SCHEER) Buffalo

MIKE (CRENOVICH) Latin American comrade
from New York

EVELYN WIENER

MILT ROSEN

BILL ALBERTSON

There are eight to be elected from the preferred list submitted by the district. Additional nominations which were made:

BETTY GANNETT

MARTY (WILNER)

These were nominations that were made by comrades on the Presiding Committee.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Let me interrupt for a second, let everybody understand this procedure. You heard here the eight names which were nominated by the New York State caucus. Now you are hearing additional names which have been nominated by the Presiding Committee.

HY LUMER: Not by the committee as a whole, but by the individuals on the Presiding Committee who made the nominations as such.

AWM:mbb

(5)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I think the point of procedure is well taken. The floor will be open for additional nominations after the nominations of the caucuses are placed, and at that time the Presiding Committee can report on any additional nominations it wants to make as well as the convention delegates. The Chairman hears a challenge.

ARCHIE BROWN: I do not understand. Your Presiding Committee is elected by this body. You went in there and they thought it would save time by doing it this way, to present to you the nominations as a whole. It makes no blasted difference if done this way or we have to wait until after the nominations are in and make them from the floor. What's the difference? That's the privilege of the Presiding Committee and we violate nothing that was laid down here. I want to ask the Chairman if he still holds to his ruling and if he does, I want to challenge it. There is only two people who are going to speak on it, the Chairman and the person challenging it and you can vote up or down.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I made my ruling and there has been a challenge. I stick to my ruling so we will have an appeal from my ruling. I would like to ask Comrade IRVING (POTASH) to take the Chair to conduct the vote on this question.

IRVING POTASH: We will have Comrade NAT (ROSENBLUTH) present the reasons for his ruling and then Comrade ARCHIE (BROWN).

UNKNOWN MALE: Point of order. The usual procedure is where the challenge is made, that

AWM:mbb
(6)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE (Continued)

the challenger or the one who makes the appeal, places his case and then the Chairman answers.

IRVING POTASH: If that is the usual procedure then we will follow the usual procedure.

ARCHIE BROWN: This will not take a lot of time comrades. There are a number of points I want to make.

1. This does not violate any procedure that was established by this convention. As a matter of fact, it underlines the procedure established. When the Presiding Committee made a proposal, they had proposed that when the states and districts list their people in their order of preference, the Presiding Committee would then go over both lists and would then bring their recommendations.

2. The Presiding Committee, thinking in terms of the best interests of this convention and from the point of view of having the comrades have before them the order of things, that repetition would have to occur. I say its an insult to the Presiding Committee to say to them, "You cannot do it this way." When the Presiding Committee comes in with its based on a proposal, it is not needed to challenge the Presiding Committee on that basis. I ask you to vote against the decision of the Chair. Thank you.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I think it should be made clear here first that there is no upsetting of any decision of the Presiding Committee

AWM:mbb
(7)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH (Continued)

in my ruling. The Presiding Committee did not vote on these additional proposals. These were proposals made by individual members of the Presiding Committee and not an action of the committee. An action of any individual on the Presiding Committee has no special standing before the convention. Therefore, I rule that any nomination made by any individual on the Presiding Committee has the same standing as any delegate on the floor of this convention. There is no upset of any ruling by the Presiding Committee in my ruling.

IRVING POTASH: All those in favor of sustaining of the Chair which means that the additional nominees presented in behalf of the members of the Presiding Committee will be made not at this time but at a time when we open for nominations on the part of the delegates of this convention. Is that correct?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Correct.

IRVING POTASH: All those in favor^{of} the ruling of the Chair please signify by a show of cards. 59 in favor of the Chair. Opposed? 45 opposed. By a vote of 59 or 60 to a vote of 45 or 46, the ruling of the Chair is upheld.

HY LUMER: You have before you eight candidates presented by the New York District. In proceeding, let me point out that there were some cases where the districts themselves submitted to the

AWM:mbb

(8)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued)

committee lists larger than the preferred list. In these cases I will read them as coming from the districts. I will omit those made in the committee.

UNKNOWN MALE: There is no way of knowing whether those names came from the district or not. I suggest you live up to the ruling of the Chair and read the preferred list.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The ruling of the Chair was that the caucus recommendations be read; that is what we are now reading.

UNKNOWN MALE: I suggest we be consistent throughout.

DOROTHY HEALEY: We were informed by our chairman in our caucus that all nominations that were made were to be placed on the ballot even though they were not preferred nominations.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: That is correct.

DOROTHY HEALEY: However, three districts, New York, Illinois and Northern California did not fully understand this. They, therefore, submitted only the preferred nominations.

I say there has to be a ruling that will apply to all districts. If the Chair rules that only the preferred nominations of New York should be read, I hereby move that only the preferred nominations of every district should be read.

AWM:mbb

(9)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: My ruling was that the recommendations of the caucuses should be read at this time. Following this we will hear all additional nominations including those additional nominations which were made in the caucuses but were recommended.

DOROTHY HEALEY: Ok, ok.

CARL WINTER: There is a motion on the floor by Comrade HEALEY.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I heard no motion, Comrade WINTER.

CARL WINTER: Did you not recognize Comrade HEALEY on the floor?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I recognized Comrade HEALEY and explained that my ruling and her motion were the same.

(Shouts--"No, no, no".)

She asked that the ruling of the Chair be carried uniformly throughout the report for all delegations and that was my ruling so there is no motion on the floor.

CARL WINTER: May I offer that as a motion?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: What is your motion?

AWM:mbb
(10)

NY 100-4931

CARL WINTER: My motion is that we receive from
the Presiding Committee only the
preferred nominations of the state committee.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: But this is a rule that has
already been upheld. There is
no need for a motion. Comrade LUMER will continue.

HY LUMER: I will present the preferred
nominations of each district.

Southern California:

CHARLENE MITCHELL

DOROTHY HEALEY

BEN DOBBS

The numbers I give you are the numbers
to be elected.

Northern California:

MICKEY LIMA



JUANITA (WHEELER)

Illinois:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

JIM WEST

b6
b7c

AWM:mbb
(11)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued)

FLO HALL

SAM KUSHNER

Michigan:

CARL WINTER

TOM DENNIS

Ohio:

~~ANTHONY~~ KRCHMAREK

ED (CHAKA)

New England:

HOMER CHASE

New Jersey:

PAT TOOHEY

Maryland:

JAKE (JACOB GREEN.)

Indiana:

MANNY BLUM

AWM:mbb
(12)!

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued)

Missouri:

C. MARTIN

Wisconsin:

FRED BLAIR

Minnesota:

SAM DAVIS

Eastern Pennsylvania:

TOM NABRIED

Washington:

BURT NELSON

Oregon:

NORMAN HAALAND

South:

[REDACTED]

S. FRAZIER

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

AWM:mbb
(13)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued)

That should add up to 25.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the nominations from the Presiding and Nominating Committee on the 25 at-large, plus the recommendations from the caucuses.

UNKNOWN MALE: The Presiding Committee was to enlarge the nominations from 15 to 25 in order to improve the composition of the National Committee with the point of view of the industrial workers, Negroes, women and youth. Now I want to know, in the preferred list how the Presiding Committee is improving the composition along these lines with this preferred list? This is the point of information I want.

HY LUMER: The preferred list is a result of a secret ballot among the members of the Nominating Committee. I am not going to speak to them individually as to how they voted or how the decision was made. This is apparently the judgement of the majority.

UNKNOWN MALE: I would like to make a motion that we reconsider the original intention of the convention to improve the composition by going back to 15. I am not referring to any particular party but along the lines of this convention to improve the composition.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There is a motion on the floor to reconsider the authorization given to the Presiding Committee this morning. Is there a secon-

AWM:mbb
(14)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH (continued)

to the motion?

UNKNOWN MALE: Second.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Do you want to speak on the motion?

UNKNOWN MALE: I would like to know if he voted for or against the motion?

UNKNOWN MALE: I do not remember.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Comrades, before I recognize any additional motions, points of order, points of procedure, I want to make a point of personal privilege. There is a recommendation from the Presiding Committee that before we proceed any further with the election that we adjourn into caucus for fifteen minutes to consider these proposals. After we hear all the nominations from the floor, the Presiding Committee recommends that we adjourn and caucus for fifteen minutes. I suggest that all these points of order and procedure be left until we have met in caucus and have considered the questions and then come out with some thoughtout procedure on these questions.

UNKNOWN MALE: I want some information. In order to improve the total composition of the Party, not one part but the whole, we have had the nominations from the states and other nominations and we cannot solve the problem of composition. Therefore I

AWM:mbb
(15)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I would really like to talk on this but I would like to hear a motion that we proceed on the basis of I am going to ask the caucus now.

BILL ALBERTSON: I have a question on this. Since we met in caucus last night, this recorded the state recommendations, subject to caucuses, to the Presiding Committee. For what purpose do we need caucus proceedings again, to consider what? Do you want, what votes from states on the general list, for what purpose? The voting should by the convention as a whole. I'd like to ask a question as to the purpose?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I have been informed that the caucus meetings have been proposed as a result of the request of many delegations to the convention. By a number of delegations. And that, therefore, the proposal has been brought forward from the Presiding Committee for a meeting. I now recognize Comrade DAVIS.

BEN DAVIS: The reason we are asking for caucuses is primarily that part of the procedure as presented last night, was quite different from the way it was understood by some. For example, it was thought that the delegation had a right of caucus on two questions:

One, whether they had the right to decide to submit on the ballot just the number which were entitled to; or whether they could also decide on the other hand to submit more than the number.

AWM:mbb
(16)

NY 100-4931

BEN DAVIS (continued):

Now in New York, we understood that we had that right, and so other delegations must have understood the same way. Well now the Presiding Committee decided today a different way. And so consequently, it's necessary to meet with our delegation, when we have a different situation, to discuss the question and find out how That's why

UNKNOWN FEMALE: (Asks question from floor - inaudible).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I will not place any motion for a vote, since on the order of procedure the Presiding Committee has made this recommendation, unless there is a motion to overrule the Presiding Committee. On this, there is no motion before the house. If there is no motion before the house -- (calls from floor for a vote).

UNKNOWN MALE: Can the Presiding Committee hand us a breakdown of composition of the 25 recommended?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I will again state what I stated before. I ask that all these questions be held until the caucuses have met. That is what I propose, and unless there is a motion to the contrary, to change the recommendation of the Presiding Committee on this, I think that we should do that.

UNKNOWN MALE: I make a motion that we change the recommendation of the Presiding Committee, open the floor up for additional nominations and then we vote according to the original plan. (Cries of "Seconded").

AWM:mbb
(17)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There has been a motion and it has been seconded to change the order of business, as recommended by the Presiding Committee, to eliminate the 15 minute caucus break. That is the motion. Are you ready for a question on this motion? The Chair recognizes Comrade MEYERS.

Comrade (GEORGE) MEYERS: While they are preparing the ballots, it will take 15 minutes, and the caucus could be held very easily -- (Shouts from floor).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Are you ready for the question? The tellers will count the vote on this. All those in favor of the motion to change the recommendation of the Presiding Committee on caucuses, will please show your card. All those opposed to the change, please show your card. I don't think I need a count. The motion has been carried. We will proceed with further nominations.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: A point of order -- (inaudible).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There has been no reading of any other list, except the recommendations of the Party. There will be such a reading later. Your point of order is out of order. Are we ready to proceed with further nominations? (Calls of yes).

In order to expedite the nominations, I will call on Comrade LUMER, to read the additional nominations which were made ⁱⁿ the Presiding Committee and in the state caucuses.

HY LUMER: For New York --

AWM:mbb
(18)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued):

BETTY GANNETT

ARTIE (EDELMAN)

ESTHER CANTOR

JIM TORMEX

MILLIE MC ADORY

For Southern California --

BILL TAYLOR

ANITA (ROSTODHA)

For Northern California --

JO FIGUIEREDO

LEE KUMNICK

For Michigan --

BILLY ALLAN

For Indiana --

W. BENNETT

AWM:mbb
(19)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The floor is open for additional nominations for the National Committee.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT: (Inaudible).

HY LUMER: Comrade ELIZABETH (FLYNN) requests names, additional names, beside the preferred list, you should have those. Doubtless, from what I can gather, there are a couple of names that appear on the district list which were also on the general list, and were placed there in the manner in which I discussed before. There is nothing to prevent these comrades from being nominated from the general list as well.

UNKNOWN MALE: Will there be an opportunity for declinations?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I don't think we will read the list and ask for them, but anybody that wants to decline, should indicate that, and will be given an opportunity to do so.

UNKNOWN MALE (from Indiana): (Inaudible).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The nominee from Indiana, BENNETT, declines from his caucus list. Is that it?

UNKNOWN MALE: One delegate(Inaudible).

UNKNOWN MALE: I move to withdraw from the California list.

EVELYN WIENER: I nominate Comrade MILLIE from New York State.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: She is not on the at-large list

AWM:mbb
(20)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH (continued):

and she is nominated for the at-large list as an additional nominee from New York State. That nomination has been made and seconded.

UNKNOWN MALE: I want to nominate [redacted] from New York.

b6
b7c

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: [redacted] has been nominated from New York -- at large.
Are there any more nominations?

UNKNOWN FEMALE: I nominate ~~MINI~~ on the New York list.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The nomination for ~~MINI~~ has been made on the state list.
Any further nominations?

(Voices from floor say close nominations).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Motions have been made to close the nominations. Are you ready for the question? All in favor show cards. All opposed? The motion to close nominations is carried. We are ready now for declinations, those who wish to decline.

ESTHER CANTOR: I am ESTHER CANTOR from New York. I'd like to decline. I'd like to

AWM:mbb
(21)

NY 100-4931

ESTHER CANTOR (continued):

I am very much in favor of MILLIE (MC ADORY) at-large.

ARTIE (EDELMAN) (from New York): I decline, to create a better atmosphere for Comrade MILLIE (MC ADORY) at-large to be elected to the National Committee.

[REDACTED] I regret that I would have to decline
.....

b6
b7c

[REDACTED] I am [REDACTED] from Illinois and I would like to decline from whatever list I am on and if you comrades will give me an hour I will tell you why.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: (Inaudible).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Comrade LEE (KUTNICK) from Northern California declines from the state list. Comrade BILL (TAYLOR) from Northern California has declined.

MILLIE (MC ADORY): I would like to decline on the state list.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Comrade MILLIE to withdraw on the state list and to stay on the at-large list for New York.

UNKNOWN MALE: If I understand the declination of BILL (TAYLOR) from Northern California

AWM:mbb
(22)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE (continued):

correctly, that leaves the Presiding Committee with 24 recommended at-large.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: It leaves the field with 25. We had a proposal on the procedure of the Presiding Committee.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades, I gather we all recognize we have to have a Nominating (Balloting) Committee. The Presiding Committee proposes a Nominating Committee of eight at-large. Comrade SARGE (HIRAM 'SARGE' DAVIS) from Eastern Pennsylvania is Chairman, MOLLIE GOLD (ph) from Illinois, RALPH (IZARD) from Northern California, ED (PINCKNEY) from New York, (CLARENCE) HATHAWAY from Minnesota, (ARTHUR) MC PHAUL from Michigan, (OTIS) HOOD from New England, and (VIVIAN) GABOURY from Washington. That is the proposal.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There has been made a proposal of a Nominating Committee of eight. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor of the proposals for this committee please raise your hand. Any opposed? None. So ordered.

I am sure that I had better do that now. The tellers are to handle the preparation of the ballots for distribution, collection, totaling and report back to this body. The function of the Tellers Committee has just been designated and unless there is an objection I will approve that as part of the motion that has already been voted upon. Is there a question?

AWM:mbb
(23)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE: Will you also, of course, tell us what the election procedure will be?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Yes. There will be a report on the election procedure that comes from the Ballot Committee by the people that are presiding there.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades, another proposal from the Presiding Committee as follows:

In order to get the best sentiment and wish of this body, your Presiding Committee is proposing the following motion.

Delegates must vote for at least 45 delegates as follows:

20 in the at-large categories and 25 in the state or district categories and of course vote for no more than 60 in order for the ballot to be valid. The motion is that in order to have a valid ballot you must vote for at least 20 out of the 25 members of the National Committee at-large and you must vote for at least 25 out of the 35 possible state recommendations.

UNKNOWN MALE: Point of information. Comrade HALL made a speech here and recommended to enlarge from 15 to 25. Is the 25 out of that total strength in the composition along the lines of the report. I want a point of information on that.

GUS HALL: I hope you don't doubt that that is

AWM:mbb
(24)

NY 100-4931

GUS HALL (continued):

what we intend to arrive at and that is what we would like to do. All I could do was urge the nomination of the best possible, which I did. I think for a large measure this list does balance the National Committee in the best possible manner of the nominations.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade HALL, I would just like to ask you what is the reason that the number of people percentagewise that you are required to vote for in a valid ballot is less in the case of the representation from the districts than in the case of the persons.....

GUS HALL: I think that is really clear. In the list of 25 there is a leeway of five. On the list of 35 it is a little bigger but the purpose of this requirement is to prevent a practice which is undemocratic of casting both votes.

Comrades, I would like to speak further on this question of composition. As I see it, the proposal of the Presiding Committee has two halves: one with an at-large generally and secondly with a proposal forbidding of the state officers at least on that side that would be in opposition to industrial workers proposed in Indiana and industrial workers were proposed in some of the other systems. Now we have the unfortunate situation that every one of these comrades has declined on the state list because of the decision or the wishes of their state caucus. So what do you have?

AWM:mbb
(25)

NY 100-4931

HALL (continued):

You have 25 on the National list with not one industrial worker whereas if you had stuck with 15 on the national list, it is one individual delegate from Indiana who would be a steel worker, one individual delegate in Michigan who would be an auto worker and one individual worker from California who would be a rubber worker. You would take your position on industrial composition. Now you have 25 on the enlargement and not one industrial worker. Comrades, I don't think that even though the intentions of the Presiding Committee were of course sound, I don't think that the result will actually live up to that example.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade HALL, that is not quite true. Let me give you an example. Maryland had one and Comrade MEYERS was nominated from Maryland so he changed with one of the comrades to the general preferred list so that we get a shop worker to come up in his place and we think that is a wonderful thing.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrade Chairman, I would like to suggest a recruiting drive amongst the industrial workers be initiated.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I would like to call for the ballots in order to proceed with the business of preparing the ballots. We will move on to the next order of business while the ballots are being prepared.

AWM:mbb
(26)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN FEMALE: (Asks inaudible question).

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I that question. No, that was not voted on. There is a motion before the house that I place before a valid ballot setting a minimum limit for the number of votes and a maximum limit. You all remember that. Are you ready for the question on the to vote? All those in favor. All in opposition. Carried and so ordered. The will proceed with the of preparing the ballot and/^{we} will proceed with our order of business.

The next order of business is a move for a three minute break. We will have a three minute break.

NY 100-4931

CHAIRMAN ROSENBLUTH: Let us come to order. We have a great deal of business to transact while the ballots are being prepared. The next order of business will be a report on the question of defense presented by Comrade ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

(PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM OUT OF ORDER)

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN:Madison Square Garden without a microphone. really did have the advantage over everybody else but it was not always the most intelligent person who deliver the most outstanding speech, so that from some points of view, this has been an asset to raising the level of discussion. However, I am sure Comrades I much as I have to report on you for the next few minutes. There is no basic differences of opinion. There are very few facts that I can bring to you that you do not already know. And as far as that, it would be a very serious omission for us to have a convention of the CP, USA without discussing the defense, the legal rights of our Party and the struggle that we have made and that we must make in the immediate future to resolve some of the issues which I will attempt to give you a bird's eye view of now.

It is really something like 21 years, since the Un-American Committee was set up in 1938, that we have carried on a struggle against repression legislation directed in some instances against us, directed in many instances at the democratic forces, the labor forces, the Negro people, including the And it was very well said by Justice JACKSON, on the ruling of one of the appeals, that the rights of the whole American people are tied up in the same bundle with the rights of the Communists. Now this we have attempted to establish over this period of the last two decades to meet the vicious lies, the big lies of

NY 100-4931

foreign agents, to meet the slanders against our Party.

The Un-American Committee, as we all know, has no legitimate purpose. It was set up for purposes of exposure and not to propose legislation. It has carried on a continuous campaign, a continuous onslaught against hundreds, yes thousands, of men and women in our country. People have lost their jobs, men and women have gone to prison for contempt and perjury. There have been drives against whole groups of people like teachers in California and more recently against Puerto Rican people here and in Puerto Rico. The raids that they have made against groups of individuals include teachers, professionals of all sort, workers, people in the artistic field, in fact it would be a cross section of the American people. At the present moment, there are something like 32 people awaiting imprisonment and some like Professor, already in prison, as victims of the Un-American Committee. And Dr. UPHAUS and another individual, HUGO MC GRANERY (ph) of New Hampshire, are also on their way to imprisonment under a replica of the Un-American Committee.

Well, if I move on to 1940, may I say, what do they say in Congress, revise and my remarks. In the (January or February) issue of "Political Affairs", I will write an article of 5,000 words that I would have liked to deliver to you here today, but after all I am your comrade and your friend. careful reading from this article. In 1940, came the Alien Registration Act which has been the basis of torture of millions of foreign-born Americans and included in it was the rider known as the Smith Act, under which many people, who are sitting in this hall today have either or have served prison terms. And we are not through, we are not through with the Smith Act. We still have it, although the Supreme Court decision resulted in the dismissal of some government cases around the country and one judge said regretfully that it had made a shambles of the Smith Act. Unfortunately, this is not

NY 100-4931

quite true. We still have the Denver case, pending appeal, and the case of Comrade FOSTER, who is still under the original indictment of the Foley Square, the first Foley Square case as well as the members indicted. And we have the membership question at the present moment. The appeals of JUNIUS SCALES and JOHN NOTO of Buffalo are before the Supreme Court and will be argued in the near future.

If the decision should be adverse, needless to say, it would immediately affect comrades like CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, like JOHN HELLMAN and it would affect many more who are also under indictment. But in addition to that, it would open the doors and possibly establish a precedent for widespread application of this membership clause to many other individuals. As you see, I am skipping quite rapidly because of time and because I assume that you know many of these basic facts. I am just going to try to give you the highlights of where we stand today.

Then came the Taft-Hartley law in 1947. I will not speak about it in relation to the labor movement in general but specifically in relation to our Party. It has been used, as you know, to send several labor men to prison for perjury, and of Seattle, Washington, is in prison at this time. It has also been used against 4 of our comrades in Cleveland, who are now out on bail, and 3 trade unionists and it is a mighty proposition because, unlike the Smith Act, you do not need theory, you do not need books, you do not need speeches, all you need is one stool-pigeon to testify that he saw a communist in conference with trade unionists and it has all the aspects of a criminal conspiracy when it is presented to a jury. At least when you throw in a, well, the jury may have some doubt as to the criminal nature of the proceedings, but perjury always has a sinister sound.

In 1950, we have the Internal Security Act, which is the Mc Carran Act, in which the Communist Party and 12 other organizations have been cited by the Subversive Activities Control Board pending order to register.

NY 100-4931

Now, I want to point out just two things about this: first, our party carried our Party was the spearhead in this fight. If it had not been for our Party fighting valiantly all the way up to the Supreme Court where we now are, all these other organizations could have been ordered to register. But until we are ordered to register as a Communist action organization, they cannot be ordered to register as Communist front organizations. And we are now before the United States Supreme Court. It has gone back and forth with the SACB, stoolpigeon after stoolpigeon at what they called the and so now they have only one stoolpigeon left, as I say, that is LOUIS BUDENZ. He had a heart attack, but doctors would not allow us to examine him, it might cause his death And so the result is that we were not able to finish the job on the exposure of stoolpigeons as we would have taken great pleasure in doing. So in the Supreme Court under appeal at the present time.

I also want to mention, for the record, the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization law, known as the Walter-Mc Carran Act. There is a tremendous amount of material on this issued by that splendid committee, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, who will hold a conference in our city during the coming week. And the deportations denaturalization proceedings, the tearing apart of families, the inflicted upon the foreign born, fellow workers and comrades, is well-nigh indescribable. It is well for us to realize that this continued, like in the days in California, where we all know the dramatic story about how they took him by plane over the North Pole to Finland. They did not even let him take an overcoat or a toothbrush. They had to bring him back again, the agents of Immigration brought him back and now they are charging him with illegal entry into the United States. proceedings on that case. So register or there is a new word now we have in our lingo; we always have a new word, "import"

NY 100-4931

I want to mention the situation of the foreign born among our comrades and in the labor movement in general. Now it is true that our Party has not been outlawed in effect, but that we are, per se, denied existence. If that were true, we would not be here in this hall this afternoon. But on the other hand, laws were passed in 1954 to outlaw the Communist Party. It is by no means any benefit to us because the law is not enforced in the court. The fact remains that laws have refused to us the right to run candidates, persecuted in many ways, and even if we keep our headquarters open, and we get out our material, we are sometimes under a handicap. So let us realize that our fight is for our full rights as an American political party in this country. Nor did we of one Communist or another shouting shall we discard it and that we be treated as full class citizens in our country.

Of course I need not remind you of the labor-management reporting and disclosure act, the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy et cetera bill which has recently been passed and which substitutes for the Taft-Hartley section much more dangerous section. We have discussed that under the Labor Report, it is not necessary for me to do more than make it impossible for one comrade to say "Mr. Chairman, why didn't she mention that?" So, I am mentioning it because it is a most dangerous procedure and something that we have to concern ourselves with as everybody has already indicated.

Now, facing 1960, there is proposed heavy legislation, not only to put more teeth into the TAFT law, but more teeth in the Smith Act, to lay aside the recent, well, comparatively recent, favorable Supreme Court decision and generally a campaign to re-inforce this whole picture of repressive legislation which I noted here. Now we that in view of this situation, only 5 comrades came to our meeting of the Committee. One from New Jersey, one from Illinois and 3 from New York. However, all of these comrades were to this question. Comrade BELLA (ALTSHULER), who is a member of a remarkably effective committee in the Bronx. In the struggle, the other members

NY 100-4931

do not mind if I say she is the spearhead. I think they rather agree with it, because she sure drives them pretty hard. As a result of this committee's activities, we were able to get the signatures of 14 Negro ministers for a petition for HENRY WINSTON in the Bronx. I always remember that I did live in the Bronx. You know, there were friends like SI GERSON, who has been very helpful to us in the whole amnesty campaign, especially in lining up people like NORMAN THOMAS andother liberals. And their cooperation with ARNOLD JOHNSON was the start of this work New York. And I also want to take off my hat to the splendid committee in Chicago and the I am not going to turn around and say "why wasn't something done here there and someplace else?" I am going to let your conscience be your guide.

Why is it that we can do something so effective in Chicago, do something so effective in the Bronx and we do not get it off the ground in other parts of the country. Well, first of all, ARNOLD (JOHNSON) tells me that cards connected with the Christmas amnesty drive have been placed on all the tables. Now please do not leave them there. Put them in your kit, take them back to your district, and see that they are used so that when Mr. EISENHOWER returns from his good-will grip all over the world, it will remind him of a little good-will and peace on earth for the United States of America, amnesty to our political prisoners in this country.

Secondly, we want to recommend a resolution which I will read to you so that it will go into our record. But we know that resolutions are only words unless they are implemented by deeds. I will read the resolution to you and then I will give one or two recommendations that we are making to the incoming National Committee.

"Despite a number of court decisions and other developments indicating a receding from the worst aspects of judicial terror

NY 100-4931

"against democratic life, we ask that
 carry on in the spirit of
 The illegal use of the Congressional
 Committees to terrorize peace-loving Americans,
 organized labor and the Negro people still
 continues. Proceedings under the Smith Act,
 while sharply slowed down, continue to
 proceed as witness the convictions of
 JUNIUS SCALES, JOHN NOTO, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT,
 JOHN HELLMAN and proceedings against many
 others".

And also the Denver Convictions can be
 elaborated in here, but we did not have the opportunity to
 do, of a paragraph on the demand that all indictments
 against Comrade WILLIAM Z. FOSTER be dismissed and that
 Comrade FOSTER be allowed to travel any place in the world
 he wants to go.

"Remember that Communist and labor leaders
 have been convicted under the Taft-Hartley
 law and the Department of Justice is still
 pressing the outlawing of the Party under
 the Mc Carran Act. In a whole series of
 states, the NAACP is being forced out of
 legal existence by virtue of new state
 laws. The attack on the foreign born,
 while slowed down somewhat, still continues
 and the F.B.I. continues its constant
 harrassment of supporters of peace and
 democratic rights and its banning of any
 public discussion of these activities.
 Summary refusal of the Parole Board to
 release our innocent comrades HENRY WINSTON,
 GIL GREEN and BOB THOMPSON while crooks are
 regularly pardoned, indicates the
 of the government's democratic protection.
 Their continuing imprisonment along with that

NY 100-4931

"of MORTON SOBELL and persons who simply exercised their right under the 1st Amendment, give the lie to the tired hypocrisy that there are no political prisoners in the U.S.A.

"The fight to free these political prisoners to defend the Bill of Rights. It is the fight of all democratic-minded Americans, irrespective of political outlook, and in the first place, that of organized labor, whose fight is intimately bound up to fight to retain constitutional rights in our country. This fight for democratic rights includes an inseparable part the right of the Communist Party and its members to freely organize, speak, write and assemble. international tension and and anti-cold war atmosphere developing in our nation, the fight for democratic rights and the attacking of every vestige of McCarthyism has taken on unprecedented proportions. A new initiative on the part of Communists particularly to help develop this broad movement for civil liberties is a need of the moment.

"The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party accepts its responsibility and hereby instructs the incoming National Committee to take every step required to set up the essential apparatus for such activities in the national center and in all districts. As the first point in such activity, it instructs the incoming National Committee to guarantee a task force in every district to strengthen the amnesty campaign, to free our comrades to the end that in the shortest

NY 100-4931

"possible time, Comrades WINSTON, GREEN and THOMPSON will be with us again".

Now that embodies the recommendations that we are to make and I am sure that we all realize that it is only because of limitation of time that we did not expand as the subject deserves. It is not only the Un-American Committee incidentally, and we have to make a note of that, but it is also the Eastland Committee which has been carrying on a vicious campaign of attack against our Party. And it was probably due to the constant repetitive challenges before the Eastland Committee that led to Comrade DENNIS' illness of the present moment. And I might say, in concluding, that he gave me a message for you. When I told him that the convention was going on fine, he said, "That's the best medicine I can get."

On January 6, there will be a parole hearing for HENRY WINSTON organized by the Bronx Committee for the Freedom of HENRY WINSTON, his neighbors and his friends, and it is very important that we get as many communications to the parole board on behalf of WINSTON and the others by that date as is humanly possible. Well, comrades, I have about 5 minutes more but I will spare you.

AWM:mbb
(28)

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Is HY LUMER in the hall? Our next order of business will be a motion to adopt the report made by HY LUMER on the peace section of the draft resolution.

HY LUMER: We contributed earlier in the convention a re-draft of sections one and two of the draft resolution which all of you should have. It was thought by the sub-committee working prior to the opening of the convention and after discussion with the convention committee, that it would suffice for these sections. I just read them. The committee proposes its adoption with certain changes of a comparatively minor character. You all have copies. The chief changes are:

1. That the resolution should deal with the particular role of women and youth in the fight for peace.

2. In the last part of the resolution on page three it is proposed to insert the sentence or sentences presenting the essence of the ideas dealt with by Comrade GUS (HALL) in his keynote speech about the multiplicity of organizations fighting for peace..... and the movement.

3. It is proposed that the third last paragraph ^{on} /page four to insert a sentence calling for an end to the peacetime draft and military training, and in the same paragraph the sentence which begins with "Latin America....." and we propose to enlarge this sentence to a sentence reading, "Fight against US intervention in Cuba or anywhere else in Latin America." This is to be expanded to read: "We demand a fight against aggressive

AWM:mbb
(29)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued):

imperialism or interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and other Latin American countries and solidarity for other national independent countries."

There were some other changes proposed to the Presiding Committee and I will give you these briefly. There is a proposal recommending that the final editing of the draft include the admission from the Washington State Resolution dealing with the fact that the United States as well as the world as a whole had reached a fundamental turning point in its history. We discussed a section of the Russian (ph) resolution which with some force and which speaks of the turning point of the world as a whole consisting of working class problems becoming stronger than the forces of imperialism (public address system not working).

It is our feeling that what remains of this portion, this paragraph, is already for the United States' turning point consists of the fact that the long continuous history of its national American For the United States, this turning point consists of the fact of its long and continuous history of expansion of American capital from its birth to the present far flung empire and the basic and American imperialism is now on the decline; that from now on the internal conflicts are no longer covered over by expansion, that what comes to the are gradually sharpened. From now on, the great expense of monopoly capital made at the expense of the working class

AWM:mbb
(30)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued):

A resolution submitted by the New England District which contains the following proposal:

We, the Communist Party of the United States, mindful of the needs for peace, must, in the first place, help organize the people of our country into a peace front. The main essence of the peace front is to expose and isolate further those in our country who advocate preventive war and the use of atom and hydrogen bombs. We felt that the formulation of a peace front was not a proper one and the formulation is now here for resolution

Similarly, a proposal from a comrade in New Jersey was discussed which calls for the setting up of a National Unity for Peace and compared it to the national unity (ph) which existed during World War II and was rejected on the grounds that the type of national unity (ph) which existed in World War II was unity against a foreign aggressor. This situation does not exist now and therefore there is no basis for proposing such a resolution.

Finally, a proposal made to the committee that the resolution should center on the questions of a split within the ranks of monopoly capital, a split based in one form or another on the differences between peace and war, and that the essence of the resolutions should be to call for the isolation of the section of monopoly capital which stands for war, was also rejected on the grounds that this does not correctly describe the

AWM:mbb
(31)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued):

situation within the ranks of American monopoly capital.

So the committee proposes to submit this section as I have indicated and has voted down some particular proposals. The committee also considered the section of the economic resolution from the point of view that this section was to deal with the functions of disarmament and its economic effects. In this connection, there is a re-draft of the section which does not materially change the existing section. There are a number of small changes based on resolutions and material that came in prior to the convention but it has added to it a substantial section of the economic effects of disarmament. This resolution was adopted by the committee with only a few minor changes in it. However, it has proved impossible to get it mimeographed tonight for you to read it. I do not think it is feasible for us to take the time now to read it. It would be a fairly lengthy procedure.

I would like to suggest to the convention that, as an alternate procedure, this be turned over to the incoming National Committee for final approval and submit to the membership with the rest of the resolution.

The motion is for the adoption of parts one and two as re-drafted with the amendment for changes as I read it and for the submission of the section on the economic situation to the incoming National Committee

AWM:mbb
(32)

NY 100-4931

HY LUMER (continued):

for final approval.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the motion and the second that we discuss re-drafted sections one and two that Comrade LUMER reported on and that we refer the section on the economic question to the incoming National Committee. It has been seconded. Are you ready for the question?

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Comrades, as one who dissented from acceptance of that part of the main draft dealt with by the committee on disarmament, I wish to make this motion that was by Comrade LUMER and so We recommend that the final editing of the draft include the addition from the Washington resolution beginning with the fact that the United States as well as the world as a whole has reached a fundamental turning point in its history. I shall read again the part that Comrade LUMER read without the mike.

"For the United States, this turning point consists of the fact that the long history of expansion of American capitalism and its present far flung empire has basically come to an end; that American imperialism is now on the decline; that from now on the internal contradictions could be no longer covered over by external expansion but must come to the forefront. From now, on the waning strength of monopoly capital, and the rising strength of the working class, the Negro people and the popular forces

AWM:mbb
(33)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN FEMALE (continued):

generally set the main framework for America's future."

This is a basic addition and we feel it will strengthen the draft. It is a point that does not appear in the draft as it now stands. This will give a basis, we feel, of unity to the entire document including the relation of peace and domestic struggle.

This is in line with Comrade HALL's keynote analysis of the new situation, the speed of development and the splendid possibilities ahead. We are in a new era. The speed of all these developments makes it necessary to force of old in a new and sharper way.

The struggle is then keyed to defend the trade union movement to resist Negro oppression, to stop the monopolies' offenses against the people's welfare and democratic rights. All of these already have certain elements of having overcome the struggle for the victory of long range goals that will realize the deepest hopes and highest aspirations of the people. These elements will increase and the present will be transformed into their opposites.

Our resolution must really project this process of passing over from the old party to the new, from the cold war to the complete victory of co-existence, from immediate goal to long range goal,

AWM:mbb

(34)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN FEMALE (continued):

from separate struggles and temporary contradiction to the whole unity of the whole people against monopoly and for a People's America in a world at peace. We look preparing a way for a direct passing over into the struggle for the working class power and a transition to Socialism. A special compelling reason for more adequately projecting the scope of the goals of this period is the speed with which they can be won and the path of its struggle towards victory is that the goal is realistic and that the realistic projection of these goals will be an important factor in winning the young generation to the side of the working class of popular order. It is the young generation that must provide the main artery for victory. Against the bankruptcy, the demagoguery, the cynicism of monopoly, we must only use it today as the practical tasks of their generation being made their goal: complete disarmament and the end of war forever.

Second, a peaceful solution to the passing from a war economy to a peacetime economy.

Three, a complete victory of Negro freedom and an end forever of the special exploitations and oppressions of the South, full right of every person to education, training, health, job opportunities, recreation, rest, travel, care in sickness and old age, full benefits to all people of the tremendous benefits in science, automation and industry. If the American people and especially the youth feel a real possibility then nothing that monopoly can do can stand in the way of

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(35)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN FEMALE (continued):

their victory.

I want to remind you of the greeting that came from Comrade DUCLOS of France. He stated in his greeting that only the Communist Party could project the ~~exalted~~ goal that will inspire the American people in the struggle for peace.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There is a motion to amend or add to the report of the committee. The committee has rejected this in committee meeting and does not accept this amendment and, therefore, the motion cannot be entertained. The only way this motion could be is to defeat the report of the committee.

UNKNOWN MALE: Comrades, being unaccustomed to speaking in public places I want to take seven minutes to say what I have to say. First of all, I object to a certain weakness in the resolution which was in the original draft resolution on the section dedicated to peace. In this resolution it was overwhelmingly voted by the comrades of the country that it was weak, that it did not express the objective conditions of the world. Now let us look on the objective conditions for a while. These objective practices which I don't think was mentioned before are the question of the monopoly of the atom bomb. When the United States had a monopoly on the atom bomb there was a much different picture than when that monopoly was broken. When it was demonstrated by the Soviet Union that they had superior

AWM:mbb
(36)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE: (continued)

guided missile systems and the ability to send a rocket to the moon with great accuracy, then we should not have tried to set up a contest up there.

I am taking up astronomy at the Hayden Planetarium and we had a section on the moon. The moon's orbit is the most complicated orbit of any heavenly body in our solar system. So, in order to get a shot to the moon, they had to pick a time and then a 500 pound arrangement in order to get its true position. So from that one piece of information you can understand the remarkable thing the Soviet Union did. It demonstrated to the world, not only to the monopolist United States and American imperialists, but a very considerable audience in the Soviet Union.

This is directly related to a feat of today, that Poland has won a seat in the Security Council of the UN. Now when I heard the news this morning my first reaction was: yes, I wanted to see and and share the burden. Now can you imagine a comrade taking a position like that when the "Daily News" and some of the most reactionary papers in New York as "Poland Wins a Seat in the Security Council." There must be something wrong in our thinking. I think this is a great victory and this is a part of the colonial peoples' struggle because if you remember when the voting was taken in the United Nations on the question of Poland becoming a member they almost required a 2/3 majority was covered (ph). This vote was largely made possible by the Asian and African bloc of the Socialist world. I don't want to

AWM:mbb
(37)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE (continued):

dwell on that too much because I think we ^{are} thoroughly familiar with that.

What I would like to bring up is this:

The point of building of Communism in the Soviet Union. This is very important because of what it means to build Communism in the Soviet Union. It means that it is a sign that it has advanced technologically and suddenly reached a point where they could produce a surplus in all commodities with each contributing to his ability and drawing according to his needs. This has been a very strong factor in making Lunik and making it possible for the future development of the needs of the workers.

All these things are objective factors attributed to the same situation in the world. This results in the defeat of one section of monopoly capital in the world. I do not want everybody to jump down my neck because the kind of things they want and the kind of things the rest of the world wants are two different things. But it should be noted that a large and powerful section of monopoly capital has come to the conclusion that it is no longer possible for them to carry on their policy with another war and thereby the destruction of the whole world. This is a very important difference of opinion among the monopolists, this must be recognized and used by us and other organizations that fight for peace to affect the struggle for peace in this country. Something I wanted to mention along with the resolution is

AWM:mbb
(38)

NY 100-4931

UNKNOWN MALE (continued):

the great gains of Socialism in this country. The relation of this to peace, I think, in our country is to recognize the change that has taken place so that we can be more effective in showing the people now why this could gain a lot. In this way I think the resolution should be strengthened.

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: There is a request for a couple of additional changes on this question, however, due to the time I think we should proceed on this question. Is there a motion for discussion on this? All those in favor of the committee report will please show cards. All those opposed? Four against, one abstention.

Next order of business will be a report for the program committee on a declaration of Party principles. JIM ALLEN reporting.

JIM ALLEN: Quite a few good things have been said about the convention. Perhaps I could add one more. Certainly the convention has shown great determination, boldness I would say, and courage trying to face all the problems that confronted it. Not only those which remain but the new problems which arise as we prepare ourselves to really play a role, a mass movement with full..... Now it is not my aim to present to the convention new weighty matters for your consideration and deliberation at this time. Your Subcommittee on Declaration of Aims and Tasks had before it a document which had been prepared over a long period of time. It is in your folders and was there from the first day of the convention.

For over a year, the Committee on Program has consulted and deliberated and prepared considerable material for your consideration, which is also in your folder. It is the way.....and this is for your consideration.....your leisure for your study, for your deliberation in the continuing process of preparing a basic program of the Communist Party.

What we have in the declaration is a programmatic statement of where the Communist Party stands. Here we attempted to do two things. We attempted to state as clearly and precisely as we could where the Communist Party stands with respect to its aims and how it proposes that the aims of Socialism in America be carried out, as seen at the present time. Secondly, it attempted to do this in a popular way so that a programmatic statement would be understood by the American people.

We think that we have made a commendable effort in that direction and that the document before you does serve its purpose. It was intended to be the programmatic statement of the Party, pending the completion of a more comprehensive program. It covers, as such, only six points. First, the nature of the Communist Party; second, how we see peaceful coexistence and fight for it; third, progress in a peace time, the essential economic problems the American workers will face under conditions of peace; fourth, the defense of democracy against reaction; fifth, the American road to Socialism as we American Communists see it; and sixth, our Socialist contentions.

The document itself is a product of extended work. It was drafted in advance of the convention. A subcommittee prior to the convention consisting of Comrades LUMER, HATHAWAY and myself,carefully went over the document. And then your subcommittee again considered it, made additional changes in it, mostly of an editorial character that do not change the substance,.....

What it is is a projection of the line that has been adopted at this conference. A summation and projection of the principal actions and positions taken here. There is no contradiction at any point between the substance of the declaration and the work of the convention.

We feel that it is the kind of a document that can be presented to the American people, the American working class and all segments of the democratic forces, as an explicit explanation of the Communist standing.

With these words, I would like to recommend on behalf of your subcommittee that the convention adopt the declaration.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: We have a motion for the adoption of the declaration. All those in favor show your cards. Opposed? Carried.

NY 100-4931

ARNOLD JOHNSON will now report on some miscellaneous resolutions. The Balloting Committee is almost ready.

ARNOLD JOHNSON: The move to refer the....., a resolution on the health of the people.....social medicine, another resolution on the arts. The second one is a rather lengthy one.....place this motion for action by the entire convention.

We received a cablegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in which they advised us of a movement within Japan by the government in collaboration with American reactionaries to amend the standing treaty..... and then points out that there have been a number of mass demonstrations by the people of Japan against this provision of the treaty.....including millions of people in nineteen nation-wide mass actions. I think you read about the....

Therefore I want to submit the following resolution: whereas Japan's Kishi Government, under pressure of American imperialism, is seeking to revise the treaty between Japan and the United States in such a way as to continue making Japan into a base for United States military forces and under the rule of American imperialists, such a provision of this treaty will increase international tension and involve the United States in aprogram intimidating the Japanese people and..... relations between people.

And whereas the means of peace and the American people require an approach to establish friendship between peoples of all countries and an end to United States imperialist venture in Japan and.....

And whereas we hold a special responsibility because it was from the United States Air Force that the agent of the decision of the then President TRUMAN that the destructive atom bomb reigned death and annihilation on the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and continues to claim the lives of Japanese men, women and children while others are maimed and constantly reminded the people of Japan and all the world the brutality that was committed against Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the order of the President of the United States.

NY 100-4931

Therefore, it is resolved this convention protest the efforts of our government to revise the treaty for purposes of continuing to use Japan as a military outpost of the United States, that.....such conditions withdraw all United States troops and military forces from Japan and bring them home, that Okinawa be fully restored to Japan so that there is restored a basis for friendship of the peoples of our country and the people of Japan.

And may it be further resolved that the.....of this resolution be sent to President EISENHOWER and to the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees and that further steps be taken to implement this resolution.

I move the adoption of the above resolution.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You have heard the resolution on the question of an extension of the treaty with Japan. All those in favor show your cards. Opposed? Unanimously adopted.

There was also a motion for a referral of two other resolutions to the incoming National Committee. All those in favor raise your cards. Opposed? Unanimously carried.

The Balloting Committee has run into technical difficulties with the machines but they will be ready in a short time. Since this obstacle has developed, we propose that Comrade HALL make his summary now and that the balloting take place at the conclusion of the summary.

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

GUS HALL: I think that we can say with definite assurance that this convention has fully met its main responsibility. When the National Committee discussed the perspective for this convention a few months ago, the general outlook was laid out that this must generally be a convention that looks onward and outward.

At that particular stage many of us were not sure as to what particular place this convention would take in history. Generally, we were of the feeling that it would be a step in the process of rebuilding the Marxist-Leninist Party in these United States. Some of us were optimistic, some of us less so but I think we can now say that it was not only a step but it is a big step in this process, and that we have removed many serious obstacles in our path, and now our Party can move forward and onward. Because of the removal of the obstacles we can do so at a much faster speed than we have in the past.

I think we can also see that we have had a meeting of minds at this convention. While it is not true under all conditions, I think under the present conditions of this process of remodeling it is a healthy thing when we can say nobody had their whole way at this convention, and secondly that none of us are the same after the convention as when the convention opened. All of us have changed in one way or another. I mean none of us, politically, are the same and I would only like to suggest that if there is any single comrade that feels that this

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

convention has not influenced you, then I would suggest that you look at yourself and not at the convention. --- proceeding of this type, and I should say that we attempted to do altogether too much in a four day convention; that there will be some minor irritations and disagreements on many questions. All in all, considering the rush of things and the pressure of problems, we can say that this convention proceeded in a rather harmonious fashion.

I guess you're --- that we should pass that main resolution sometime before we adjourn. I think, however, that in spite of these minor difficulties and irritations that we now have for our Party one policy, one mind, and one direction. --- because I don't think we have had that in the last couple of years. I don't think that the line and policy set down was enough, it wasn't concrete enough, and I think many of the difficulties we had arose from that simple fact. I think that in spite of all the weaknesses, we now have that policy, line, and direction and this will be so not only for the sections of the Party but this will be the policy, line and direction for the whole Party from the member to the National Committee and officers. Well there's all the positive things we can think of in our convention.

I think that, however, we must say there are some weaknesses in the convention. Among them, I think, the agenda was altogether too big and we tried to make corrections in too many fields in four days. There are some others, I think, we should mention. We did not have the possibility, or somehow from the convention did not emerge enough discussion on the concrete experiences of our Party. And especially experiences in the mass field of giving leadership to the masses. Now I say this knowing

NY 100-4931

that there are much more and there are some very exciting experiences that should have been brought to the attention of the convention, but again, because of the way the agenda was organized it did not emerge here as forcefully as in a Communist convention such a thing -----do.

I think about this for another reason besides conventions because it is a weakness in our Party generally, I think. Somehow or another as ---- what holds the honorable and honored position in our Party, it's the teachings, and generalities; and somehow these still hold a very dominant position in the work of the Party. In committees, in state organizations, in sections, and even in clubs I think it tends to be so. We must elevate to a higher level in the work of our committees, including the National Committee, the concrete examination of experiences in life, experiences in leadership to masses, so that it's not only a weakness here, I think, it's generally a weakness in our Party and we must elevate this evaluation.

Comrade STACHEL tells the story often of how in the past this was a big part of the Party's work and that he recalls the part in some small strike, I think it was in Detroit, it was just a small strike, not as significant as some of the strikes. The Party's analysis of that strike took two full pages of the big edition of the "Daily Worker" in those days, without pictures, without sub-heads, and it was a solid analysis all the way through. Well, I don't think we want to --- but I think we must go into the examination of experiences and drawing the lessons from this.

Now I think we must say a word about factionalism.

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

I think it is necessary and some of it cropped up here at this convention. And I think that we must draw the conclusion that this fight is not yet over, that there are elements of this yet in our work and it's an unhealthy thing. Now we must find ways of -- the very fiber of our Party so that it not only does not exist but doesn't crop up, that there is no factional approach to even the smallest problem, not speaking about big ones. And if I read this convention right, and if I read the spirit and the decision of this convention, I think, it is that this convention gives a --- to leadership from top to bottom to completely destroy and burn all elements of factionalism in our Party. And the incoming leadership must carry out this mandate of this convention. Even if a comrade in presenting correct --- it makes no difference how right you are, you must be right as right can be and the leadership of the Party with whom you are working must be wrong as wrong can be, but if you try to do it in a factional way you're wrong. That's what this Party must understand. That to be right doesn't give any length of ~~method~~ method to carry it out. I think we have reached the point now, the decision of our Party, which has been decided on a number of times: that there is no more room for factionalism in our Party and now it is unquestionably on paper. This is going to become a live and definite issue for the leadership to carry on: that factionalism will not be permitted on any level by anybody, and I think we have to make it just as definite as that, and that every member of this Party must be on notice that you try it and you have a fight on your hands.

We have to find a way of working and a method of work that show trust and confidence in a united Party that we know of, because in the past when the policy wasn't clear, in the past when the line and direction wasn't clear, well, under those circumstances there could be the excuse that

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

some of this was because of fighting for a line. But now that the Party has one policy, one line, then there is no excuse for factionalism. Then factionalism takes on strictly a questionable "careerist" and opportunistic basis, and this I don't think this Party will permit.

Now a few words on a couple of questions. I don't think we should attempt to summarize all questions in this convention and I would say not only all, but generally, I think, our Party had to take the position that we take a definite position on the theoretical and policy questions, but that doesn't necessarily close canyons for further development, and deepen and looking into these type of questions. And, I think generally that's the --- we must preserve in the Party. And therefore I don't want to give any impression that in these few remarks that I want to so-called definitively close all gates for further introduction.

Just a word on the question of struggle for peace. I think we need a little further clarity on this question and I think there still are some exaggerations and onesidedness here and there and, I think, we have to so-called bring it to a balance on the many, many ways. I think first of all, that there are no disagreements in this Party that the struggle for peace is on a new level and that there are some very new factors that we must take into consideration in raising the issue of peace, that is, not only an essential issue in the way we did it before but with each developing --- a new way emerges as a central and key question for us. I don't think that there is really much disagreement in this sense. This, however, should not lead us to one-sidedness and that's what I want to say a few words on.

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

Take the question of EISENHOWER and his role. Well, I think that the position is "Yes, EISENHOWER is a spokesman for the recognition that there was the need of something new in the direction of our foreign policy." I think that's clear. In every--- and---possibly he wants to go even further that he has the problem of also bringing with him other --- also true. This should not, however, blind us or become one-sided as to how far he has gone. At this time I want to read to you some remarks that were made just very recently by Comrade KHRUSHCHEV. Somebody told me I mis-pronounce that all the time. Well, anyway, you know who I mean. And, I think, we take him rather seriously because we weren't as close to all of these things as he was. He was at Camp David and therefore had some inside dope of developments and therefore, I think we should take him very seriously. So he was talking about what is new since about 1956 and he says the progress is in the direction of understanding and the necessity of peaceful co-existence, so that is the thing that is different from 1956, and the progress is in the direction of understanding and the necessity of peaceful co-existence.

Then --- speaking about EISENHOWER, we felt a sincere desire on the part of the President to reach an agreement to attain a relaxation of international tensions. That is very pleasant. True, this is so far nothing but orientation, and a man's feeling is not a very exact measuring stick. There can be a good deal here which is subjective. Nevertheless, we trust that the desire to improve relations will soon take on concrete forms. That he just made the speech--- days ago. By a---and balanced and, I think, nice way of putting the question. Then he said, I think, the President also wants that, but apparently he cannot take such a step for the reasons that there are still

NY 100-4931

strong groups in the U. S. that take a stand against disarmament. We must not deceive ourselves on that score. And a further quotation from Comrade KHRUSHCHEV. When their bourgeois politicians come to recognize the idea of peaceful co-existence it is that being determines consciousness. There are some who put it this way however, being determines consciousness. I should say that both, the one and other, are correct. The way it works out is that being helps some people in being and at last they begin to recognize the necessity of peaceful coexistence. What he said, considering that he knows much more than any of us do because he was in these negotiations, I think, that that's the balanced way of putting it. That there is this new but that the cold war is not over and our approach should be that we want to take advantage of everything that is new in the broadest and the best possible way, but that it means a struggle, it means mobilization, it means a movement because if the cold war is over, why, a movement, there's no need for it then. The need for it is because it isn't over but the possibilities are tremendous for actually putting an end to it, and that's what is new, and that's what we should take advantage of.

Now, a few words on the anti-monopoly coalition because this is another field in which I believe, lay possible differences, although, since this National Convention began, starting with our National Committee meeting, starting two days before the Convention, there has been an increasing meeting of the minds on this question. In fact, there is very little left where there is basic disagreement, therefore I don't want to make a federal case out of it and just wish to say a few words to emphasize this question again. I think we can still say that this

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

slogan of anti-monopoly people's coalition, part of the misunderstanding that comes as a result is that it was misused very often and widely in the Party, that it has been in exchange of all kinds of democratic fronts, third party, it's been kind of thrown around without the definite concept of what it actually is. So that I would say all of the confusion that has exhibited itself ---- this thing. Now, what is this anti-monopoly movement which, I think, is possibly more accurate. It's a critical concept. It's a political strategic concept that we have to seek. In other words - - - by anybody. It's a realistic reaction to present day America. It's a realistic reaction to what is the class forces of our----- In other words that the --- stage of imperialism. I doubt this classified big business monopoly that rules and controls, and dictates, and influences everything from morning to night, from beginning to end for the -- . And it is all directed in one direction for maximum profit, and that this is a stage of imperialism that we are in. And this is true in other countries, and I want to say that this concept prevails in a new way in countries like Sicily and France where the Party has now raised this in a new way and much more to the forefront than the past and the present convictions and the role of monopolies there, I don't think, play even relatively the role that they play in this center of capitalism in the world.

You have now this small group of the biggest classified capitalistic elements and monopoly elements that dictate and exploit the whole nation. AS a result of this, the majority of Americans are victims of this big business drive, the great majority of Americans. First of all the working class, the Negro people, the farmers, the small

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

business men, professionals, white-collar, and very definitely of the capitalist class, become victims of monopoly----- and drive. And their present drive against labor is part of that general process.

Now, what's important about this? This becomes the very base of our united front policy, and, as a matter of fact, if we don't recognize that we will not have the broadest united front approach. The political concept, a movement of organizing this majority to resist very concretely-----and as an objective against monopoly rule. As it goes along. Now there will be stages to this, and one thing further: in America we will have to accept the idea that all struggles on any front we will meet this resistance of big monopolies and the struggle, whether for reform of any kind, whether it's for the government that's not controlled by monopolies, and the movement for democracy and progress and need for socialism, will move through this avenue and resistance against the coalitions that will in the resistance against monopoly powers in America. I think that's the basic thing we must understand.

From that flows a certain strategic concept of an anti-monopoly movement in America and a conviction that we should understand. Now, that could mean that if certain sections of the capitalist class, first of all, and even sections of monopoly, if their interests coincide with that of the great majority of Americans, that therefore this nullifies this basic concept. Of course not! The basic -----but this does not mean that we will not---vary these differences. As a matter of fact-----meetings that one of the reasons for this confusion is that we have not fully-----our Party's history appreciated this fact. A---advantage of-----and diversified secrets of the different sections of the capitalist class-----report technical and

AEM:jrc

NY 100-4931

political movements and politics in the electoral sense very, very important. But this doesn't basically change the concept of the direction of our movement.

And secondly, that if sections, even as I said, of monopoly do this this doesn't change their character. Their class character remains and their class forces remain the same. Now this is important because, for instance, I've seen some of the motions in the pre-convention discussion that have called, because of this new ---- developed, have called for a national front. Now that obviously shows basic confusion of what are to be the concepts or what is the proper period. The actual front is first of all --- practical outlook only on a --- on the old national existence is in danger in a big way. And that's what we face at the present time, and its so-called ---- as to what has basically happened in America as a result of what is new in our condition.

Finally, I would say again keeping this basic concept in view, that does not mean when we have united fronts that --- we're united with must understand us. The fact is, in most cases, they won't. We will be working with forces that will not understand the rule of monopolies in life, and the fact that objectively the resistance to these monopolies that these movements are built, so that we should have no idea of making any conditions for united front work and united front policy. And therefore, there is no obstacle to the broadest possible united front. Generally, if we take the realistic position instead of ---- concept and generalized slogans in advance, although we have to have an outlook, a concept, and direction, that what we should do now --- the main task of the Party is to work at the meaningful level on a movement and have contact with as much as possible and direct it, and guide it, and prod it and nurse it along in its --- fold. And as a result of this, it grows, and as

AWM:jrc

NY 100-4931

the struggle develops, more forces get into it, the general concepts will go and we will find if words that will --- much better and more scientifically than if we pick the concept up and then try to --- to it, which we very often do. And I think if we have this approach that the concepts will lay on more fertile and solid ground.

Now a few words on the cadre questions about the Party. This we'll have to give a lot of attention to. First of all because our cadre is rather scattered and, while it's growing now, we need a lot of work to develop a good able Communist Marxist-Leninist cadre. We're going to build and grow in the process of work but we must build a certain approach to this question and

I want to say especially the work.....in view of the fact that all of the state conventions will not, outside of the state of Washington..... I guess most of the districts will be elected.....leaderships in the coming conventions.

I think the leadership will have to show some real understanding of the present level of our process of rebuilding in this convention. I would like to especially suggest that we take to heart what Comrade MAO TSE-TUNG spoke once in the Chinese Party about promoting and bringing into leadership only those that are near and dear. Those were the words that MAO TSE-TUNG used. I think our leadership must be able to try and mold a leadership that does take into account the still different emphasis that different comrades have. It has to take into account the infusion of both old and the new as much as it is possible and still have a unified leadership. In other words that is just what we must do. It has the approach that this also is a process and in a process you just do not take those that agree with you. In a process you take the best elements including those who do not necessarily agree with you and in the process mold them into a unified leadership as our Party goes along. And, as I said, I, especially with the coming state conventions, would urge that we take such an approach to the cadre policy.

Finally, comrades, I think we are agreed that this has been a good convention. But when I say that, that is exhortation, that is bombast. Well, a little of that we have to have. But the fact remains that this does not necessarily prove that it is a good convention. The proof that this is a good convention will have to come in the weeks and days and months and years ahead. So, I think the approach we should use is that it has laid a good foundation for our work. We are a united party. We have an outlook. We have the policy. In about a year we should check and then we can really decide whether this was really as good as we think it is.

NY 100-4931

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Comrades, we had better move on the main resolution. We have not done that yet. There is a motion to accept the main resolution as amended in the course of the convention. It has been seconded. All those in favor please show cards. Opposed? The main resolution as amended is adopted unanimously.

I want to present next the chairman of the Balloting Committee, Comrade SARGE (HIRAM "SARGE" DAVIS).

HIRAM DAVIS: The Balloting Committee wants first to apologize for the delay but we had a few minor breakdowns. The mimeograph machine broke down and we had to work out procedure here on some questions but we finally got finished. This is the procedure that the Balloting Committee has worked out.

The Balloting Committee has got a report from the Credentials Committee on how many eligible voters are present and represented at this convention. We got the report of 133 voting delegates. As we call out the state we will also call out how many votes they are entitled to. In this way the chairman of that state committee will step up to the front and will get the ballots from the two comrades who will be standing here. The comrade on my left has the at-large ballots and the comrade on my right has the state ballots. When the ballot is finished, the chairman of the delegation will bring the ballots back up front and return them to the desk here on my right and on my left and then they will be returned back to the Tellers Committee who will give you a count and report on the counts from the ballots.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: You heard the proposal of the Balloting Committee. The chairman of each state delegation will go to the two tellers, get the ballots for that state delegation and then proceed immediately to meet the delegations and distribute the ballots, and then return them as a state delegation. That is clear. That is the motion for procedure. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor please show cards. Are there any opposed? We will proceed with that order of business.

However, before I do that, I think that there is another motion which is in order and we will not have an opportunity to do it once the balloting commences. That is a motion of thanks to the hotel, its employees and its guests, whom, no doubt, we inconvenienced with our rushes on the elevator and the rest of the building. I think the motion is in order and I think that it is carried by acclamation. The presidium will take steps to communicate that to the hotel.

Comrade SARGE will proceed with the election.

HIRAM "SARGE" DAVIS: I want to ask one thing of you.
Will you please not leave the
hall until balloting is finished.

First, New York State, 36 delegates. New Jersey, four.

Unknown Female: Five.

HIRAM "SARGE" DAVIS: No, New Jersey is reported from the report as four. Comrades, I am going by the report. If there is any squawk.....

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: ~~Comrades~~ Comrades, while you are waiting, let me make an announcement. I want to suggest that all delegations remain seated until the ballots are distributed. There are two brief points which have to be taken up before we break. Once we break for the voting, it will be difficult to convene the whole convention again. So let us remain seated until the ballots are distributed. We will act on these two brief points and then go ahead with the balloting.

WILLIAM PATTERSON:if the delegates here take 36 or 25 ballots and there is only 15 or 20 people remaining in the delegation, what becomes of the others?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The ruling of the Presiding Committee that was voted on by this body today was that each state delegation cast its full vote. The state delegation will have to decide how that full vote will be cast. It cannot be decided by this body.

NY 105-4931

GUS HALL announces that the National Committee will meet tonight right after the vote is announced and act on some immediate questions.

JAMES JACKSON: In reference to the question by Comrade PATTERSON. The.....adopted was that the voting would be distributed among the delegates and therefore each delegate remaining out of the delegations where some have left was to have one vote and a fraction.....delegate remains.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Is that the previous ruling? I was not acquainted with that. I will restate that. The ruling on this question has been that while the delegation may.....its full voting strength, the method of distribution of that strength is by apportioning each ballot a fraction above one so that the ballot is distributed only among those voting delegates present. Then each vote will be counted one plus a fraction. That is the policy which we have acted on.

MICKIE LIMA: I would like to ask.....

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I am not acquainted with it. Comrade JACKSON informs me that such a decision was taken by the body, so I assume that it was.

JAMES JACKSON: If I could try and simplify it. In a full delegation every delegate casts a ballot that has the value of one vote. Where not all of the delegation is present in the hall, some have left, the delegate has one ballot but the ballot has the value of one plus a portion that would be equal to the number that the delegation is entitled to.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I do not know if that is the problem. As I understand it, the question raised by Comrade LIMA is that he is not aware of a decision by this body of that method of distributing the vote.

NY 100-4931

MICKIE LIMA: The question is this. If the delegation has worked out a method whereby it casts its full vote, will that meet with the approval of the committee? In other words, we have apportioned among our delegates three comrades who will cast their votes for three comrades who have left the convention.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Well then, again you see you have raised the question whether or not there is such a ruling before the convention. If there is such a ruling, then I would consider that would be not in order. If there is not such a ruling, then we have to make one.

Unknown Male: Would it not be easier to.....the secretary of the convention the actual motion that was adopted?

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Is this possible? - to get the motion that was adopted on that procedure.
Comrade WINTER.

CARL WINTER: Would it not help if we were guided by the convention call? The National Convention call stated clearly that any delegation not able to have all the delegates present to which it is entitled for financial or other reasons will be allowed to distribute their vote equally on those that do attend the convention. Since that was in the convention call, would it not be reasonable to preserve and define just as well the people who could not stay as well as the people who could not come?

I would ask the chairman to rule.....the way in which it would be carried out the rule that was set out in the convention call.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: No, what Comrade LIMA says is different, Comrade WINTER.

CARL WINTER: I understand.....half the delegates.....and the other half will.....

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: No. If that was the question, then there is no disagreement and we can act on that proposal. But Comrade LIMA indicates that they have a different approach, so we are waiting for the committee, the secretary to record that.

Unknown Female: The acts of consolidation.....delegations invoke the full.....of the remaining delegates. That is as I have it.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: If that is all that is in the minutes on this, I would suggest that Comrade WINTER'S recommendation be placed as a motion and that we adopt that procedure now. The motion has been made and seconded. Now a point of clarification on the motion.

WILLIAM PATTERSON: The point of clarification is this. If there are 6 votes and only 3 people to vote, then those 3 people should get 3 ballots but they will vote 1 and one-third votes each, rather than having the whole ballots marked by themselves. This is the procedure. In other words, they will not have to hold three ballots to mark them. They only have three ballots but they get credit for 1 and one-third, for the whole three.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: That is correct. Your understanding of that is correct, Comrade BILL. Are you ready for the question on this motion?

Unknown Male: Therefore, when the chairman of the delegation comes forth here, they will have to tell these guys.....

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: That means that the chairman of each delegation, when they return ballots, will return a number of blank ballots. They will indicate the weight of each ballot in that delegation that is necessary. You all understand the motion. All those in favor please show cards. Any opposed? None. Any abstentions on the procedure? Then the procedure is adopted as proposed.

Now there is a question on the ballots.

NY 100-4931

Unknown Female: A point of information. Why were the three delegates from the South left off the ballot? The South was left off completely.

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The comrade calls for attention that the three candidates from the South have been left off the ballot. They are not on it, are they? They have been left off the ballot. Well, there is a motion to elect them by acclamation.

(General cries of "No" from the floor)

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: I will take a motion from the man with this question. The proposal is that on the state ballot, since there are only three candidates for these three openings and that the word "ballot" be written in. This will be construed as a vote for these three candidates. If you leave it out, it means that you are not voting for them.

Unknown Female: Would you please indicate that the South vote right after.....

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: The word "South" should be written right after the candidate from Oregon, if you cast your vote for the three Southern delegates. If you do not write the word "ballot", you are not voting for those candidates.

We propose to leave the names out because it simplifies it. Do you want the three names? All right comrades, let us have the three names on the ballot. We will do that after the ballots have been distributed. They are in the process of being distributed.

HIRAM "SARGE" DAVIS: I would thank you very much if you would help me distribute these ballots here. We want to get them distributed so everybody can see the ballot. Some people have them and some people do not. So if you bear with me, everybody will get a ballot, I hope.

NY 100-4931

Eastern Pennsylvania	4
New England	4
Ohio	7
Michigan	6
Illinois	13
Indiana	2
Wisconsin	2
Minnesota	6
Oregon	1
Washington	6
South California	19
North California	13
Missouri	1

Chairman ROSENBLUTH: Now comrades.....the delegates from
the South. Are you all ready? These
are the three candidates from the South. First,
Second, F. FRAZIER. And third,

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(This session adjourned for dinner at 7:32 p.m.)

NY 100-4931

EVENING SESSION
DECEMBER 13, 1959

NY T-1 advised this session commenced at
 11:37 p.m.

CHAIRMAN: I am sorry I do not have a mike but I
 will talk as loud as I possibly can. I
 want to say one thing to you. Here begins the at-large
 vote first while the committee is still working on the state
 ballot. The highest vote first.

1. GUS HALL	131 votes
2. DANNY (RUBIN) from Eastern Pennsylvania	126 "
3. JESUS COLON	122.1 "
4. JIM JACKSON	121 "
5. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	120 "
6. GEORGE MEYERS	118.4 "
7. HERB APTHEKER	117.8 "
8. WILLIAM PATTERSON	116.7 "
9. CLARENCE HATHAWAY	111.4 "
10. DANNY (QUEEN) from Illinois	110.7 "
11. IRVING POTASH	109.8 "
12. HY LUMER	109 "
13. PETTIS PERRY	107.7 "
14. BEN DAVIS	107.4 "
15. ARNOLD JOHNSON	106.4 "

Those are the 15 highest names on the list.

16. GENE DENNIS	104.7 "
17. GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT	103 "
18. JAMES ALLEN	98.1 "
19. ERIC BERT	93.7 "
20. HELEN ALLISON (WINTER)	91.7 "
21. AL RICHMOND	87 "

NY 100-4931

22.	JACK STACHEL	84.5	votes
23.	PHIL BART	84.4	"
24.	SI GERSON	77	"
25.	MILLIE MC ADORY	63.9	"

Those are the 25 elected.

26.	WILL WEINSTONE	58.9	votes
27.	JOE NORTH	58	"
28.	BILL (HOSEA HUDSON) from the South	49.9	"
29.	JOHN HELLMAN	46.9	"
30.	NATE (SHARPE)	38.9	"
31.	GEORGE MORRIS	37.3	"
32.	V. (VAUD) BENNETT	35.6	"
33.	MILFORD SUTHERLAND	30	"

Now we will try to get the state ballot.
The first three will be from the South.

34.	[redacted] from the South	127	votes
35.	ERAZIER from the South	127	"
36.	[redacted] from the South	125	"
37.	(ANTON) KRCHMAREK from Ohio	125	"
38.	JAKE (JACOB GREEN) from Maryland	124.7	"
39.	(TOM) NABRIED	124	"
40.	(SAM) DAVIS from Minnesota	123	"
41.	(FRED) BLAIR from Wisconsin	123	"
42.	C. MARTIN from Missouri	122	"
43.	(CLAUDE) LIGHTFOOT from Chicago	119	"
44.	JUANITA (WHEELER) Northern California	117	"
45.	(TOM) DENNIS - Michigan	116.4	"
46.	CARL WINTER - Michigan	114.7	"
47.	MICKIE LLIMA, Northern California	114	"

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NY 100-4931

48.	[REDACTED]	114 votes
	Northern California	
49.	PAT TOOHEY - New Jersey	118.3 "
50.	ED (CHAKA) - Ohio	111 "
51.	F. (FLO) HALL - Chicago	111 "
52.	(CHARLENE) MITCHELL	109.1 "
	Southern California	
53.	(LOUIS) WEINSTOCK -	106.3 "
	New York	
54.	(WILLIAM) ALBERTSON -	105.1 "
	New York	
55.	[REDACTED] -	105.1 "
	New York	
56.	(BURT) NELSON-Washington	101.3 "
57.	(NORMAN) HAALAND -	101.3 "
	Washington	
58.	MIKE (CRENOVICH)-New York	101.3 "
59.	(JAMES) WEST - Illinois	102.7 "
60.	(SAM) KUSHNER - Illinois	100. "
61.	(BEN) DOBBS - Southern	99.7 "
	California	
62.	NAT (ROSENBLUTH) -	92.5 "
	New York	
63.	(EMANUEL) BLUM-Indiana	94.3 "
64.	(HOMER BATES) CHASE -	90.2 "
	New England	
65.	(BETTY) GANNETT-New York	82.4 "
66.	(DOROTHY) HEALEY -	81.5 "
	Southern California	
67.	(JIM) TORMEY - New York	79.1 "
68.	(MIRIAM) FRIEDLANDER -	60.4 "
	New York	

There are the 35 key people

69.	(EVELYN) WIENER-New York	56.3 votes
70.	(WILLIAM) TAYLOR -	53.6 "
	Southern California	

NY 100-4931

71.	MORT (SCHEER)-New York	53.3 votes
72.	(MILT) ROSEN -New York	51.3 "
73.	(BILLY) ALLAN - Michigan	40.9 "
74.	ANITA (ROSTODHA) - Southern California	37.2 "

That is it. I would suggest that those of the National Committee members that were elected move over to the corner here. Session adjourned.

NY 100-4931

National Committee Meeting
December 14, 1959

NY T-1 advised on December 14, 1959, that the new National Committee met immediately after the close of the preceding evening session.

GUS HALL proposed HY LUMER as Educational Director and JIM JACKSON as (inaudible). He also proposed that the committee elect a Secretariat of the Party to consist of BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS, GUS HALL, JAMES JACKSON and HY LUMER.

BEN DAVIS said that he had been nominated as the National Secretary and that he wanted to say something about that. He said that he considered it quite an honor but that the New York State elections were to be held on January 9th and that he would run again as state chairman.

He said that what happened to the New York State delegation in his opinion was a disgrace. He felt that the overwhelming choices of the state caucus were not elected and that something deliberate was done to keep them out. He thought it was quite a "damn disgrace" and that it was going to create, and had already created, a very serious situation in the Party.

DAVIS said that he did not know who was responsible for it but under the circumstances he felt it was his duty to remain in New York and observe the situation when this "sort of damn ganging up" was done on the New York party.

DAVIS said he wanted the comrades to know the facts and exactly how he felt because he did not think it was done to any other state delegation except New York. He was protesting it but he did not want any investigation made. For that reason he preferred not to serve as National Secretary, but he said he would continue to cooperate in every possible way with the leadership on the basis of the line of the Party adopted at the convention. He did not think it was good for the Party for things like this to happen.

An unknown female said she would not undertake any discussion with the question that had been raised by DAVIS because it was rejected generally. GUS HALL said that he was sorry that DAVIS took this position but he, HALL, thought the convention had a right to elect whom it pleased. He suggested that DAVIS not make a final decision at this particular time and take a day or two to think it over and cool off, and then give further consideration to it. HALL did not think it was good for the National Committee and for the Party and for DAVIS to start out on this track.

An unknown male seconded HALL's proposal.

HALL asked if all those were in favor of it and if there was any discussion.

An unknown male made an inaudible comment and HALL asked if he wanted to make that a motion.

The unknown male said that he just wanted to make an exchange of opinion before he made a motion.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that even though he could understand how DAVIS felt at the moment, he urged him to accept the post of National Secretary without prejudice. He did this with the purpose of not having any speculation about the matter to the membership in the capitalist press. LIGHTFOOT recalled that there had been a lot of speculation prior to the convention regarding the leadership and that if DAVIS' name was not included in this leadership in one form or another, it would create problems not only with the membership but also in relation to the movement. He, therefore, recommended that they at least go through with this action independently of what final disposition is made of it.

An unknown male proposed that the recommendation made by HALL be accepted. He said that DAVIS' position as chairman of the New York district ran until the night that the election takes place and he thought that by January 9th a solution would be found that would not create any confusion.

Another unknown male said that DAVIS had to recognize that if he did not accept the office offered by the Party that the effect on the Negro people would be extremely disturbing. He, along with LIGHTFOOT, thought that DAVIS should accept the nomination.

Another unknown male joined DAVIS in protest at the way the decisions of the New York State caucus were handled at the convention. He said there was at all times a move to change the wishes of that caucus and it was evident throughout the day. He thought that almost the majority were for three of the eight who were defeated and he thought the responsibility for the effect that this would have on the outside should have been considered by those who organized this thing. He did not think that the responsibility could be placed on BEN DAVIS by any means.

GUS HALL said that he thought the Party is more important than everything that went on today and therefore, he wanted to ask DAVIS to change his position as to this matter.

JAMES JACKSON said that he thought the comrades should face up to the simple thing that not only was the decision of the New York caucus changed, but that it was done in such a way that the plea that was made from the platform for new and young people to come forward was ignored.

DAVIS said that he had tried to cool down somewhat and he spoke about the pressure of the convention on him. He also said he was considering the unpleasant consequences that this would have on the outside.

An unknown male said that it was an unfortunate situation and that he was satisfied with the election as far as the New York delegation was concerned, but he said that DAVIS and all of them from New York had another side to look at. He mentioned that the results that occurred were not satisfactory and that it was extremely unnatural that with the number of Negro people in New York, New York designated only one Negro. He believed this was a blow to the New York organization prestige, but he thought that New York could have corrected the mistakes of its delegation itself.

NY 100-4931

Another unknown male said that last night at the meeting of the New York delegation he did not believe that any of those present were satisfied, including those who were elected. However, he hoped that DAVIS would go along with the suggestions in the motion that has been made and that in another day or two all of them would be thinking together again.

An unknown male asked what would the duties of the National Secretary be? Would he be out of New York more than in the past?

Another unknown male asked if there was any special effort made to change the New York delegation in a manner that was not in the best interests of the workers or the Party. He suggested that the National Committee set up a committee, in view of the fact that a very important state convention was coming up, to look into the situation and give them the power to correct it. He said that he was disturbed today about the situation, and that he believed if the National Committee had the confidence of its members it should do this.

An unknown male said that Minnesota, Wisconsin and Missouri are very much against the manner of election of a central committee. He said that they wanted to get a collective leadership that would be representative of the Communist Party which was very clearly stated by all. He felt that the manner in which they elected the National Committee was a very unsatisfactory and clumsy way and not the way of democratic centralism to elect a leadership. However, they had to go along in this matter but were still not well balanced. He noted that out of 132 possible votes, 131 votes were cast for GUS HALL, that GUS HALL was the chairman of the Presiding Committee and that there was something of a trick involved in enlarging the members-at-large in order to get "this kind of vote".

This unknown male stated another thing that was significant was the trouble around the Negro resolution question. He saw a great deal of conflict around JAMES JACKSON, who he noticed had 120 votes. This male said, however, that he was proud of the convention and that he appealed to DAVIS to accept the election.

NY 100-4931

An unknown male also appealed to DAVIS to accept the leadership since the Party had great respect for him.

An unknown female felt that New York, Illinois and Northern California were for BEN DAVIS, as he is one of the leaders of the Party, not only a national leader but a mass leader of the people. That had been proven in his past efforts for the Party. She did not care what the press might say but that they should consider what is good for the Party. She thought that DAVIS should lead "our people".

Another unknown male thought that DAVIS should accept the national leadership proposal.

An unknown male did not believe that the election was a repudiation of DAVIS since he received a very high vote. He also wondered why New York did not elect a Negro woman also to the committee.

BEN DAVIS said that as a result of the line of this National Committee and the opinions expressed, if the committee, knowing his judgments, his ideas, and what he was thinking about the election, still felt that they wanted him to be National Secretary, they could elect him and he would serve. However, he said he would only do so under the following conditions. He felt that he had been very faithful to the Party and that although comrades may have made criticism of the New York delegation and the New York nominations, such criticism was sometimes justified; however, other delegations had weaknesses but the job was done on the New York delegation and not on them. He said that he would work for the adopted resolutions.

An unknown male remarked that he wanted something to go on record for this convention. A few days after the Sixteenth National Convention it became obvious that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had taken the convention and used it to spread the idea of disunity in our Party. He felt that such reports may appear subsequently but he felt certain that the Party was united and right in denying and condemning such reports.

(The meeting adjourned at 1:45 a.m.)

NY 100-4931

IX. INDEX OF INDIVIDUALS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Numbers</u>
ABT, JOHN	81
ACEVEDO, RAMON	81
ADES, BERNARD	81
ALBERTSON, BILL	17, 29, 36, 43, 68, 144, 470, 474, 482, 491, 518, 587, 598, 655
ALDEZMA, AURELIO	52, 482, 484
ALEXANDER, CHARLENE	52
ALEXANDER, HERSEL	52
ALLAN, BILLY	38, 44, 601, 656
ALLEN, JAMES	19, 35, 42, 220, 584, 630, 653
ALTSHULER, BELLA	68, 614
APTHECKER, HERBERT	35, 42, 81, 584, 653
ARMSTRONG, LUCIUS	55
BARRON, ROSE	81
BART, CONNIE	81

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
BASSETT, TED	17, 68, 144
BART, PHIL	6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 24, 25, 35, 42, 65, 135, 138, 139, 142, 144, 221, 404, 422, 435, 453, 524, 525, 584, 654
BEDACHT, MAX	32, 555, 556, 557
BENNETT, VAUD	38, 42, 55, 601, 654
BERG, DELMAR	18, 35, 42, 50, 144, 145, 584
BERNSTEIN, ANNA	81
BERT, ERIC	35, 42, 584, 653
BESSIE, DAN	52

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
BIMBA, ANTHONY	82
BLAIR, FRED	37, 43, 80, 595, 654
BLAIR, MARY	80
BLAZINSKI, ROMAN	63
BLUM, EMMANUEL	37, 44, 55, 289, 594, 655
BODIAN, CLARA	82
BOELICKI, REGINA	82
BOELICKI, JOE	129
<div data-bbox="237 1105 566 1160" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 20px;"></div>	38, 82, 603, 604
BORCHARDT, LENA	62
BORENSTEIN, MATTY	82
BRANDT, JOE	66
BROMS, WILBUR	82
BROWN, ARCHIE	16, 23, 30, 33, 50, 122, 138, 245, 262, 264, 265, 266, 273, 354, 355, 359, 360, 364, 366, 381, 402, 434, 470, 500, 527, 530, 537, 540, 541, 542, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 562, 588, 589

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
CANTOR, ESTHER (also see ESTHER UNGER)	38, 366, 432, 601, 603, 604
CARPENTER, DAVE	82
CARROLL, ESTHER	82
CHAKA, ED	16, 17, 37, 43, 78, 138, 141, 594, 655
CHANCEY, MARTIN	78
CHARNEY, GEORGE BLAKE	4
CHASE, HOMER BATES	44, 64, 388, 594, 655
CHASE, JOSEPH KORB	65
CHILDS, MORRIS	32, 33, 43, 55, 217, 544, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 553, 557
COHN, IRVINE	82
COLLINS, HAROLD	82
COLON, JESUS	33, 34, 35, 41, 68, 117, 118, 264, 559, 560, 563, 584, 653

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
CORREA, ANNA	4
CRAWFORD, WILLIAM	57
ERENOVICH, MICHAEL	36, 44, 68, 587, 655
DALY, GERALD	82
DAVIS, BENJAMIN J.	4, 13, 16, 17, 23, 33, 35, 42, 45, 46, 68, 104, 105, 106, 107, 119, 121, 122, 125, 138, 141, 142, 144, 188, 209, 260, 273, 365, 366, 382, 394, 439, 533, 557, 558, 568, 584, 598, 599, 653, 657, 659, 661
DAVIS, DAVE	4
DAVIS, HIRAM "SARGE"	58, 605, 646, 647, 651
DAVIS, LESTER	55
DAVIS, SAM	16, 37, 43, 62, 138, 595, 654
DAVIS, WILLIAM	64
DENNIS, EUGENE	4, 13, 15, 23, 35, 42, 45, 46, 89, 90, 98, 100, 105, 116, 119, 120, 121, 138, 189, 364, 423, 489, 584, 618, 653, 657

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
DENNIS, TOM	16, 37, 43, 63, 138, 410, 412, 594, 654
DIRBA, CHARLES	82
DISKIN, LOU	55
DOBBS, BEN	36, 44, 52, 593, 655
DONAHUE, RUBY	55
DURHAM, EARL	4, 16, 55, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 189, 204, 205, 209, 212, 213, 328, 329
EDELMAN, ARTIE	36, 38, 69, 601, 604
EKINS, ROBERT	83
ENGELSTEIN, FRITZI	83
FELDMAN, JANE	83
FELDMAN, SIMON	83
FIELDS, JOE	83
FIGUEIREDO, JOSEPH	38, 50

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
FINE, FRED	4
FINKEL, MANUEL	83
FINN, JACK	83
FISHER, FRANK	59
FLYNN, ELIZABETH GURLEY	13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 52, 120, 121, 135, 138, 140, 144, 312, 417, 578, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 610, 653
FOSTER, WILLIAM Z.	4, 13, 14, 17, 35, 39, 45, 46, 69, 92, 98, 100, 119, 121, 125, 126, 141, 568, 579, 580, 612, 616
FRAZIER, F.	37, 43, 44, 595, 652
FRIEDLANDER , MIRIAM	17, 44, 69, 144, 655
<div data-bbox="203 1377 506 1443" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 197px; height: 32px;"></div>	69
GABOURY, VIVIAN	76, 605
GABOW, FRANCES	58
GADSON, RHODA	69

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
GANNETT, BETTY	36, 38, 44, 69, 187, 407, 587, 601, 655
GATES, JOHN	4, 92
GELLERT, HUGO	83
GERSON, SIMON	35, 42, 83, 260, 584, 615, 654
GIOVANNINI, LEO	62
GOLD, MOLLY	56
GOLDRING, JACOB	83
GORDON, JUNE	17, 20, 69, 222, 533
GORDON, LOTTIE	66
GREEN, GIL	105, 106, 107, 121, 126, 244, 289, 576, 618, 618
GREEN, JACOB	37, 43, 60, 594, 654
GROSS, SAUL	84
GUYTON, ALONZO	70
HAALAND, NORMAN	37, 44, 79, 595, 655

NY 100-4931

NAME

PAGE NUMBER

HALL, GUS

15, 18, 19, 20, 27, 31, 35,
40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 53, 89,
90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96,
97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103,
119, 120, 125, 135, 138, 154, 155,
187, 189, 205, 209, 212, 221,
243, 267, 310, 317, 321, 322,
404, 413, 414, 420, 433, 453,
454, 455, 456, 463, 464, 466,
467, 468, 469, 470, 488, 513,
533, 538, 540, 541, 542, 557,
568, 578, 584, 606, 607, 619,
624, 634, 648, 653, 657, 658,
659, 660

HALL, FLO

17, 19, 37, 43, 56, 188, 594,
655

HALONEN, OIVA

76

HARDIN, MELVIN, SR.

78, 84

HARDIN, VIRGINIA

78

[REDACTED]

76

HARRIS, FRED A

79

HARRIS, LEM

84

HATHAWAY, CLARENCE

24, 35, 42, 62, 187, 402, 404,
407, 410, 412, 417, 420, 422,
425, 428, 431, 432, 435, 436,
437, 445, 446, 467, 468, 469, 584,
605, 631, 653

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
HAYWOOD, HARRY	32, 550, 548, 549, 552
HEALEY, DOROTHY	4, 16, 36, 53, 138, 145, 233, 273, 277, 366, 591, 592, 593, 665
HEIMAN, JULIUS	84
HELLMAN, JOHN	4, 24, 28, 36, 42, 53, 585, 612, 616, 654
HEMMINGSON, HANLEY	18, 62, 148, 149
HENDLEY, CHARLES	84
HOLMES, LOLA BELLE	56
HOOD, OTIS	65, 605
HOWARD, RANDY	84
HUDSON, HOSEA	36, 42, 80, 585, 654
HUGHES, HILDUR	76
IZARD, RALPH	50, 212, 605,
JACKSON, ELLSWORTH	78
JACKSON, JAMES	4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 35, 41, 45, 46, 80, 108, 109, 110, 116, 120, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 138, 141, 142, 144, 187, 188, 238, 314, 402, 538, 584, 648, 653, 654, 659

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
JAFFE, SARA	84
JAMES, CORNELIUS	37, 43, 44, 595, 652
JAMES, JOAN	53
JOHNSON, ARNOLD	17, 35, 40, 42, 78, 89, 96, 104, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 144, 260, 366, 391, 584, 615, 632, 653
JOHNSON, CHARLES	60
JOHNSON, KETTY	17, 26, 50, 445
JOHNSON, LEWIS MARTIN	65
JOHNSON, OAKLEY	84
JOHNSON, WILLIAM S.	60
JORGENSEN, CLARA	61
KAUFFMAN, WALLACE	78
KHURTH, HELEN	84
KILDALL, BILL ROSS	76
KLING, JACK	18, 20, 24, 31, 47, 56, 148, 149, 222, 527
KOLKIN, ALEX	70

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
KOURAMBIS, NICK	66
KRANSDORF, HERBERT	79
KRCHMAREK, ANTHONY	21, 22, 30, 37, 43, 79, 267, 594, 654
KUSHNER, SAM	37, 44, 57, 260, 594, 655
KUSNITZ, ROSE	53
KUTNICK, LEE	38, 601, 604
LEEDS, DAVE	84
LERNER, REBECCA	84
LEVENSON, LEONARD	70
LIBSON, AARON	58
LICHT, CLARA	85
LIGHTFOOT, CLAUDE	17, 22, 23, 37, 43, 45, 56, 120, 141, 142, 144, 185, 227, 313, 332, 354, 356, 419, 420, 602, 612, 616, 653, 654, 658
LIGHTFOOT, GERALDYNE	29, 35, 42, 56, 412, 418, 419, 420, 470, 480, 482, 486, 488, 493, 497, 499, 501, 514, 515, 516, 520, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 584, 653
LIMA, MICKIE	17, 36, 43, 50, 144, 648, 649, 650, 654, 593

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
LINDSAY, JAMES R.	51
LITHAUER, DONAH	70
LOMAN, CHARLES	4, 32, 553
LUMER, HY	15, 17, 19, 35, 36, 37, 42, 45, 51, 90, 99, 120, 138, 141, 142, 144, 153, 166, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 312, 584, 587, 590, 591, 593, 596, 600, 601, 602, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 631, 653, 657
LUMER, MIKE	85
MALLOY, JAMES	85
MARTIN, C.	37, 43, 595, 654
MARKMAN, MARVIN	70
MARTINEZ, JOE	18, 53, 149
MC ADORY, MILDRED	42, 70, 347, 349, 601, 604, 654
MC PHAEL, ARTHUR	63, 605
MAZEIKA, JOHN	85

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
MEYERS, GEORGE	17, 18, 23, 26, 35, 42, 60, 141, 145, 446, 448, 452, 584, 600, 339, 341, 360, 364, 653
MILES, IRWIN	18, 70, 148, 149
MITCHELL, CHARLENE	4, 36, 343, 482, 593, 655
MONROY, SOL	26, 54, 437, 513
MORRIS, GEORGE	36, 43, 63, 585, 654
MOROZE, LEW	66
MYERSCOUGH, TOM	85
NABRIED, TOM	17, 31, 37, 43, 58, 144, 417, 420, 543, 595, 654
NACHMAN, JULIUS	85
<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 1.2em; width: 300px;"></div>	85
NEEDLEMAN, GIBBY	85
NELSON, BURT	16, 17, 18, 30, 44, 76, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 407, 497, 499, 501, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 523, 595, 655

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
NELSON, HELLEN	76
NELSON, STEVE	85
NELSON, MAGNUS	80
NESIN, SAM	70
NORTH, JOE	34, 36, 42, 59, 526, 563, 572, 585, 654
NOTO, JOHN	612, 616
NOVAK, ANTON	86
NOVICK, PAUL	20, 85, 222, 530
OMHOLT, ANDREW	59
OSTERWEIL, LEONA	67
PATTERSON, WILLIAM	22, 26, 35, 42, 71, 352, 430, 446, 449, 518, 584, 647, 650, 653
PERLO, VICTOR	86
PERRY, PETTIS	35, 42, 54, 347, 349, 584, 653
PINCKNEY, ED	71, 605
POLLOCK, ROBERT	65
POSNER, IDA	71

NY 100-4931

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
POTASH, IRVING	17, 21 35, 42, 71, 104, 141, 142, 144, 254, 578, 584, 588, 589, 590, 653
POUSADA, MANNY	71
[REDACTED]	17, 36, 43, 51, 141, 593, 655
QUEEN, DANNY	35, 42, 57, 584, 653
RADZIE, CONSTANTINO	86
[REDACTED]	76
REED, DAVE	67
RICHMOND, AL	4, 35, 42, 51, 382, 386, 391, 392, 584, 653
RIVERA, JUAN SANTOS	20, 33, 86, 117, 118, 119, 559 561, 562, 563
[REDACTED]	36, 44, 71, 215, 586, 655

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
ROBINSON, DOROTHY	86
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	37, 43, 44, 595
ROCHESTER, ANN	86
ROCHESTER, STERLING	18, 59, 148, 149
ROGERS PAULINE	86
ROSEN, JAKE	72
ROSEN, MILT	36, 44, 72, 273, 267, 587, 656
ROSENBERG, JULIUS	106
ROSENBLUTH, NAT	18, 34, 36, 40, 44, 72, 153, 563, 571, 572, 577, 578, 579, 581, 582, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 602, 603, 605, 606, 608, 609, 610, 619, 623, 626, 630, 631, 633, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 655
ROSS, CARL	4
ROSTODHA, ANITA	38, 44, 54, 601, 656
ROYCE, PAULINE	86
RUBEL, DANNY	72

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
RUBIN, DANNY	35, 41, 50, 480, 483, 584, 653
SANCHEZ, LOUISE	72
SALES, DAVE	72
SCALES, JUNIUS	612, 616
SCHERER, LENA	86
SCHERER, MARCEL	86
SCHEER, MORTIMER	36, 44, 73, 413, 587, 656
SCHWARTZ, PAUL	73, 305
SHULMAN, JACK	73
SHULMAN, RUTH	73
SHARPE, NATE	36, 43, 57, 61, 585, 646
SHIELDS, ART	87
SILVER, SOPHIE	54
SIRACUSA, NINO	73
SMITH, JEAN	87
SOBELL, MORTON	105, 570
SOLOMON, MARK	63
SPENCER, HARRY	79

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
STANLEY, BILL	73
STACHEL, JACK	16, 26, 35, 42, 73, 139, 222, 366, 401, 446, 452, 584, 636, 654
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	87
STEIN, SID	4
STEINER, STANLEY	87
STERN, MARVIN	87
STONE, MARTHA	556
SULLER, CHAIM	20, 87
SUTHERLAND, MARY JANE	77
SUTHERLAND, MILFORD	36, 77, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 585, 634
TAYLOR, BILL	38, 44, 54, 601, 604, 655
TAYLOR, RALPH W.	61
TAYLOR, SIDNEY	87
THOMPSON, LULU MAE	51
THOMPSON, ROBERT	13, 105, 106, 107, 121, 126, 244, 570, 616, 618
TOOHEY, PAT	19, 20, 33, 34, 37, 43, 67, 147, 220, 222, 223, 224, 235, 238, 251, 254, 261, 264, 277, 557, 561, 563, 594, 655

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
TORMEY, JIM	38, 44, 74, 332, 334, 335, 601, 655
TRACHTENBERG, ALEXANDER	34, 65, 563
TURNER, RALPH	57
UNGER ESTHER (see also ESTHER CANTOR)	74
VAN VEEN, SADIE	87
<div data-bbox="181 760 545 866"></div>	51
WACHTER, SAUL	51
WALKER, EDSAL	74
WALLACH, HY	74
<div data-bbox="187 1048 520 1113"></div>	67
WASHINGTON, BERTRAM	79
WEINSTOCK, ROSE	87
WEINSTOCK, LOUIS	36, 43, 74, 231, 289, 586, 655
WEINSTONE, WILLIAM	32, 35, 42, 74, 555; 584, 654
WEISS, CONNIE	74
WEST, JIM	16, 30, 36, 44, 58, 138, 420, 422, 593, 655
<div data-bbox="141 1533 515 1616"></div>	17, 19, 36, 38, 57, 144, 220, 585, 604

b6
b7c

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
WHEELER, JUANITA	25, 36, 43, 51, 593, 654
WIENER, EVELYN	21, 44, 262, 265, 266, 267, 273, 289, 290, 293, 296, 299, 302, 304, 311, 312, 313, 328, 332, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 587, 602, 655
WILKERSON, DOXEY	4
WILNER, MARTY	87, 587
WILLIS, AGNES	75
WILLIAMS, ELIZABETH	54
WINSTON, HENRY	13, 105, 106, 107, 121, 126, 244, 570, 615, 616, 618
WINTER, CARL	4, 16, 17, 18, 20, 37, 43, 63, 139, 141, 142, 382, 383, 507, 592, 593, 594, 649, 654
WINTER, HELEN	35, 42, 63, 584, 653
WOFSY, ISADORE	87
WOOL, AARON	75
WOOL, SHEVRA	75
WYNN, ROBERT	61

NY 100-4931

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
YOUNG, COLEMAN	62
YOUNG, MARTIN	88
ZALPH, JERRY	88
ZWOLINSKI, REVA	54

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January 8, 1960

Re: Communist Party
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Internal Security - C

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